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Representatives of employers' and workers' organizations from 16 member countries met to analyze the problems of facilitating adjustment to geographical and occupational changes, to discuss their experience, and to study the type of overall program needed in this field. The report contains (1) an introduction to the Seminar by Solomon Barkin, (2) a summary, by Guy Routh of the discussions concerning geographical mobility, occupational mobility, and policies of governments and international organizations, and (3) the resolutions adopted by the Seminar participants. Four preliminary reports prepared for the Seminar, giving the background of the problem and the role of the employers and the unions in connection with it, are included in the appendix: (1) "Geographical Mobility of Manpower," by Guy Routh, (2) "Occupational Mobility of Manpower," by Claude Vimont, (3) "Role of the Employers' Organizations in Geographical and Occupational Mobility," by Walter Schlotfeldt, and (4) "Role of the Trade Unions in Connection with Geographical and Occupational Mobility," by Pierre Jeanne. Tabular data is interspersed throughout the report. (ET)

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INTERNATIONAL SEMINARS 1963-3

INTERNATIONAL JOINT SEMINAR ON GEOGRAPHICAL AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF MANPOWER

Castelfusano, 19th to 22nd November, 1963

FINAL REPORT

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

PARIS 1964

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INTERNATIONAL SEMINARS 1963-3

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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INTERNATIONAL JOINT SEMINAR ON GEOGRAPHICAL AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF MANPOWER

(Castelfusano, 19th to 22nd November, 1963).

FINAL REPORT.

Manpower and Social Affairs Directorate
Social Affairs Division
2, rue André-Pascal, Paris 16ᵉ
1964

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development was set up under a Convention signed in Paris on 14th December 1960 by the Member countries of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation and by Canada and the United States. This Convention provides that the O.E.C.D. shall promote policies designed:

- *to achieve the highest sustainable economic growth and employment and a rising standard of living in Member countries, while maintaining financial stability, and thus to contribute to the world economy;*
- *to contribute to sound economic expansion in Member as well as non-member countries in the process of economic development;*
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FOREWORD

The International Joint Seminar on Geographical and Occupational Mobility of Manpower, organised by the Social Affairs Division of the Manpower and Social Affairs Directorate as part of its programme of special activities for employers and trade unions, was held at Castelfusano, Italy from 19th to 22nd November, 1963. Representatives of employers' and workers' organisations from 16 Member countries met to analyse the problems of facilitating adjustment to geographical and occupational changes, to discuss their experience and to study the type of overall programme needed in this field.

The following report contains a summary of the discussions by Dr. Routh, an introduction by the Deputy to the Director of Manpower and Social Affairs, the Resolutions adopted at the seminar and a list of participants. Four preliminary reports prepared for the seminar, giving the background of the problem and the role of the employers and the unions in connection with it, are contained in the appendix.

The special case studies summarised in Dr. Routh's report on the discussions are available in full in a separate "Supplement to the Final Report" which can be obtained from O.E.C.D. on request. The Table of Contents of this supplement is given at the end of the present report.

O.E.C.D.
Manpower and Social Affairs Directorate
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INTRODUCTION

by
Solomon Barkin
Deputy to the Director of
the Manpower and Social Affairs Directorate and
Chief of the Social Affairs Division

During the nineteenth century the prevailing idea was that of progress. Optimism was the mood. The population was growing; industrial systems were expanding; the physical limits of the integrated world were being widened. Science was discovering new "laws of nature". Social reform movements were gaining confidence in their own ability to improve the conditions of life for the mass of people and assure greater equity for all.

During the last two decades, we have recaptured some of the confidence in progress prevalent in the prior century. We are moving ahead in our mastery of the physical world and inventing more productive methods of developing our economies. And we have added an important new element which provides us with more direction for our efforts. There are now many agreements among nations on many economic and social objectives by which to gauge the progress we are making. There is general acceptance of the conclusion that the government has the responsibility for pursuing policies and providing services which will contribute to economic growth. In fact the growth target has been specifically defined in precise mathematical terms for the Member countries of the O.E.C.D.: fifty per cent for a ten years' period. Full employment is another general guideline for economic policy and it has been more elaborately defined by the International Labour Organisation as "full productive and freely chosen employment". Universal agreement now exists on the need for advancing the living standards of people and that they benefit continuously from the rising national output. The advanced nations have a responsibility to share their output with the people in the developing countries to aid them in attaining their economic goals.

But the road toward economic growth, full employment, rising living standards, and increased economic assistance to developing countries, is beset with many difficulties and problems. New policies, institutions and ways of conduct have to be developed to attain these ends. These bring with them changes in the ways of men. Everywhere established patterns of behaviour are being modified or radically altered or being replaced by new ones. The ways of the past are no longer adequate. The pressure for change penetrates every walk of life as the new technical and physical environment and the broad new objectives begin to affect existing occupational, social and political systems.

The major task before our societies is becoming increasingly well defined. It is to bring coherence and harmony among the beliefs, institutions and behaviour patterns in a world of change. To achieve this end older systems have to be re-evaluated and altered and new ones created. People have to be assisted in understanding the nature of the new demands and their free and willing co-operation elicited to assure their adaptation to them. The frictions and tensions caused by change have to be eased so that there may be a smoother transition to the new. The challenge is to effect the accommodation to the change as easily with as little social strife and loss of resources as possible.

This present seminar deals with two areas of change, namely, the alteration of the occupational structure of the society and the geographic distribution of jobs. In dealing with these subjects we are first called upon to learn about the nature of the changes and then to define the methods which can be employed to facilitate the processes of adjustment to them. The latter has become extremely important because there is increasing agreement on two propositions. First, the individual himself is often unable to prepare himself or even easily to determine on a course of action to effect his change in occupation or location. In most instances the training must be provided by others and the movement to new locations requires funds which many do not possess. These steps can only be taken with confidence if the individual enjoys the advice of knowledgeable and competent people in possession of information on the recruiting requirements for different jobs and locations.

Second, the costs of such adjustments are of such magnitude that most individuals are unable to shoulder them easily. If they are not aided by counsel, training and financial maintenance, their quality may deteriorate, and the dependents may suffer, with subsequent unfavourable consequences for the people and the society. Therefore, provision must be made through organised systems of insurance, training and services for aiding these persons to adjust to the changes. Moreover, there is additional justification for such action since the primary beneficiary of the innovations themselves is the country as a whole.

As for the changes in the nature of jobs in modern industry, it may be truly said that we are undergoing a revolution. A major shift is occurring in the type of skills, knowledge and aptitudes required of people in industry. The effects of this change are being felt in the factory and offices, and the schools which prepare our young people and adults for modern living. Earlier movements toward industrialisation had effected the substitution of the machine for manual work. The introduction of "scientific management" accelerated the process of stripping the production job of many discretionary functions and manual duties. The central engineering departments prescribed the methods of job performance. The assembly-line further constricted the freedom of action of production workers by increasing the degree of job specification and tying the worker to the pace of the line. Increasing mechanisation, greater use of instruments and finally servomechanisms are continuing the process of eliminating manual duties from the job. The appearance of the computer has also opened up the opportunities for mechanising many types of brain work which had hitherto escaped the machine age. The production worker, both in the factory or the office, is being converted into a machine tender or monitor. Conceptual rather than manual skills are becoming the critical human faculty.

The substitution of conceptual for manual skills in jobs in industry and in the office is taking place at an increasingly rapid rate. With the practical demonstration of the utility of the new machines and the continuing decline in the prices of the new equipment, as well as the wider applications of the newer technologies, the newer types of operatives are taking over a larger and larger share of our industrial jobs. The penetration of the computer into industry is reflected by the fact that there are probably more than 20,000 now in operation. Numerically controlled machines are being produced in larger numbers particularly as the principles are being applied to new machines. More varied types of servo-mechanisms are being developed and finding their way into many new industries. In advanced countries many operations are now automated and in some instances, entire plants are tended primarily by machine monitors. The last change is most marked in the chemical processing industries.

The managerial job is also being radically altered. Functional management which dominates modern industry replaced older types of management where the individual executive performed all functions. With the acceptance of "scientific management", management functions were specialised and departmentalised. The main problem was that of coordination of the separate divisions since there was no easy way to integrate them. The main challenge was to find a happy combination of centralising and decentralising procedures so as to harmonise the work of the specialists. Now with the introduction of systems management we are finding that integration is becoming a possibility. New skills and staffs are appearing in the form of the operation research teams and the central information staffs built around the computer. They are taking over the functions of established groups of management and whole departments.

The new system of management combined with the radical changes in the productions jobs are also leading to a changing relation between supervision and the production worker. The latter is becoming more and more responsible both in terms of the value of the equipment and product which he is monitoring and in the amount of discretion which he is exercising. The reduction in the size of the work force, and in the industrial work place, and the improvement of its quality have reduced the need for as much direct personal supervision as has been formerly present. The old supervisor is increasingly being shifted to managerial responsibilities and away from direct personnel functions.

These changes are therefore penetrating every level of the industrial system both on the production floor and in the office. In fact the distinction between the two is being dimmed by the introduction on the factory floor of many machines, such as the computer, which are usually associated with the office, and the presence of an increasing number of technicians and professional persons. The grave problem faced by management and society is how the present and future work force is to be adapted to these new job demands. Few question the wholesomeness of these trends as they will reduce physical demands and exalt conceptual skills and assure increasingly pleasanter surroundings. Many of the fears as to the psychological impact of these new job arrangements disappear under close examination and others will have to be studied more closely so that the jobs may be designed more nearly in harmony with man's physical and psychological needs. But the transition to this new job pattern is not likely to be effected automatically. The change is far too radical in nature. The emphasis on conceptual skills demands a completely new orientation to and training for jobs. The change can best be effected through deliberate efforts at training and adjustment.

Concurrent with the above shifts in the nature of job demand there is also a transfer of jobs to new areas and a new geographical concentration of work. The location of current plants and offices was determined by factors which were important to the older industries. Many were built near rivers to facilitate transport of work; or to harness water for generating power. When industry was dependent upon railroad transportation, plants were situated near their depots. The location of other industries was determined by the site of their raw materials.

But now there are many new factors at work. Electrical power can be carried cheaply for long distances; air travel has taken over a sizeable proportion of the passenger and freight traffic. New sources of energy, such as oil, have favoured the growth of industry in places which were previously not considered economic. Industries are now looking for places where there is an appropriate labour supply because of the shortages in established areas. On the other hand, some newer industries such as research institutions are locating in areas which their professional staffs prefer as sites for their work and families. Industrial complexes are growing up around graduate scientific research institutions so that the new industries are situated in areas which had not previously been known as large employment centres. The new complexes built around the petroleum industry are also located far from traditional industrial areas. Large new concentrations have developed around military proving fields which are usually placed away from existing populated centres.

Most of these new sites of employment have to attract some part of their work force from outside the particular area. Facilities and arrangements have to be made for these shifts. Where the process is unguided, the wanderings prove costly and often futile to individuals. Their efforts may be wasteful. On the other hand the required labour force may not be easily recruited. A new urgency exists for the organisation of the labour market both from the point of view of meeting the employers' needs for qualified people and minimising the losses and costs to the potential employees who need to be guided if not assisted in these costly geographical movements.

Hidden by these broad classifications is the fact that there is an unending turnover of plants and companies and work places. The consummate result of the turnover of work places, jobs and locations is that men are more and more likely to find that they will have to make many changes in jobs during the course of their work life. It is possible that the increasing rate of industrialisation will bring with it a multiplication in the number of job changes to which the individual will have to adapt himself.

We are faced with a completely new concept of the work life. Men will no longer have to be prepared for one occupation or one skill but many. Effective occupational preparation will provide the individual with the ability to move or to be trained for new jobs and to be brought up to date on the requirements on the very job on which he is employed. There will be need for several training periods as men move from job to job and even during their stay on the same job.

Even the shift on an identical job from one employer to another cannot be effected smoothly without an appropriate induction period to orient the employee to the different systems of operation. This demand for orientation is likely to be much greater when the employee moves to another locality and may be even still greater when he is started on a new occupation.

In view of the variety of changes and the needs of adaptation to the altering patterns of employment, the vast challenge is how do we face up to this problem of occupational and geographical adjustment of people; how do we reduce the human costs of change; how do we ease the shift from one job to another; how are the responsibilities and costs to be shared; what institutions are to be organised by the society, the employer or by the union or the international organisations to facilitate these changes? The objective must remain the easy transfer of people from one job to another, in order that the traumatic effects of unemployment and adjustment do not destroy the quality or morale of the employee or his dependents and that the loss of human resources during the transition be reduced as far as possible.

This seminar is concerned with the problems of facilitating adjustment to occupational and geographical changes. The Manpower and Social Affairs Committee of the O.E.C.D. has invited both management and trade union representatives of the Member countries to share their experience of methods of dealing with these issues. The seminar is designed to analyse the problem, to hear reports on your policies and experience in specific situations and in your country, and to obtain your overall appraisal of the programme needed in this area.

For your further guidance we would like to present to you the basic policy lines developing within the O.E.C.D. which may provide you with a point of orientation for the discussion of the programmes of adjustment. We have been concerned with the definition, and the meaning and content of an "active manpower policy". The trade union representatives attended a seminar on this question in Vienna in September of this year and a parallel seminar will be held in Brussels next year for management representatives. Finally, it is likely that the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee will formulate its own conclusions to be submitted to the O.E.C.D. Council for consideration and approval.

The basic concepts underlying the active manpower policy appear to be the following principles. First, the policy seeks through administrative measures directly affecting the actual or potential work force or through economic and structural policies or influences on private action, to promote the full productive employment of those willing to work within the framework of a free society with its emphasis on the free choice of job. The manpower services and programmes are to promote the availability, mobility and quality of human resources to assure the smooth adjustment of people to the changing occupational and geographical patterns of employment and to advance the geographical distribution of such employment in a manner which is in harmony with national economic advantage and the geographical distribution of the population. In promoting these objectives the manpower agencies assume the responsibility for advocating and securing the adoption of economic and structural policies which advance these goals.

Secondly, there should be a central manpower agency responsible for manpower policy. It should be responsive to current changes and informed about medium and long-term developments in the labour market so that it may provide adequate counsel to individuals, groups and the government and initiate policies and programmes designed to advance the basic goals in the light of these developments.

Third, there should be an adequately equipped and staffed employment service for all groups and industries and employers which is prepared to aid individuals determine their choice of employment and able to select the individual for the appropriate job, and is sufficiently informed of job vacancies both in the immediate area and in other places to serve these people. It should also be prepared to assist employers in defining their labour requirements in realistic terms to facilitate their use of the employment offices.

Fourth, the community must be prepared to aid employees to obtain the training required for the available jobs.

Fifth, geographical mobility may have to be facilitated by financial allowances and services.

Sixth, placement, counselling and social aids may have to be provided to special groups in the community to enable them to qualify more rapidly for work.

Seventh, the income of the employees and dependents will have to be maintained during periods of unemployment and training or shifts, in order to assure the appropriate receptivity to training and a willingness to undertake a course of adjustment and to maintain the physical and mental quality of the people.

Eighth, some underdeveloped and depressed areas with large labour surpluses may have to be redeveloped in order to provide employment for the less mobile groups within the area.

Ninth, the training curriculum for educating the young may have to be revised so that they are better prepared for their work life experience.

Tenth, the management and unions should develop a comparable set of programmes within the plant and industry to advance the national policies.

As we have already indicated, the seminar programme is designed to bring to light employer and union experiences and views so that they may be available to the committee in its deliberations. The present joint seminar will deal with the problems of occupational and geographical mobility. A seminar is to be held in December in Wiesbaden, Germany, and is to concern itself with the adjustment policies for rural and foreign migrants into industry. In 1964 there will be a seminar on the problem of the employment of older workers and further seminars will be held on other phases of the problem to promote more understanding and knowledge and to secure the benefit of the experience of management and unions in these fields.

The present seminar will consider the subject of occupational and geographical mobility. The discussion of each subject will be introduced by a general paper prepared by experts in these fields. They will address themselves to the following types of questions: Do people move? Are they moving too frequently or at too low a rate? Is the present movement of people from one job to another or from one area to another wasteful? Is the movement blind and aimless? Is management adversely affected by the present unguided system of mobility? Is it proving too costly to the individual and his dependents? Who are the people who are moving? Is movement causing social discontent? Is the present system of geographical mobility placing an undue financial burden on some communities? Would there be an advantage to guide the movement? Who should pay and provide the guidance? Who should pay the cost for maintenance of employees and dependents during adjustment? How shall training and guidance be arranged? What people cannot be expected to move and what arrangements shall be made for them? Where should the responsibility for the vocational and geographical mobility be lodged? What role can management play? What role can trade unions play?

The individual case studies and country reports will do much to provide us with insights on how different countries are meeting these problems.

REPORT ON THE DISCUSSIONS AT THE SEMINAR

by Guy Routh
University of Sussex

INTRODUCTION

In industrialised society, the production is one of extraordinary complexity. Elaborate machines and a variety of materials must have applied to them many different intellectual and manual skills to achieve the desired output. The fact that the economy is a "going concern" prevents the problem of co-ordination from becoming entirely unmanageable, but even so its solution requires constant adaptation and re-adaptation from those who participate in it. New materials, new machines, new techniques for their application and new methods of organisation are constantly emerging, part-cause and part-effect of a constantly changing pattern of demand for goods and services.

This process is conspicuous in the mounting output of the chemical industry, whose innovations are having a radical effect on all other industries as well as on health services and the home. A feature of this mounting output is that it is being achieved with a comparatively small increase, or even a decrease, in manpower. The fourth plan in France envisages a 58 per cent increase in chemical output with an 8 per cent increase in manpower between 1959 and 1965. In the United Kingdom between 1959 and 1962, the industry achieved a 16 per cent increase in output with a small decline in manpower.

Next in rise in output and labour productivity come the metal-making and metal-using industries producing, inter alia, an increasing range of household durables that have transformed housework and family life. The chemical and engineering industries together have had a profound effect on agriculture, combining greatly increased yields with a massive exodus of manpower from the land.

A concomitant of the increase in wealth in the industrially-advanced countries has been the rising importance of financial services, in particular banking and insurance, and retail distribution.

There is also evident a high income-elasticity of demand(1) for health-services and education, music and books. Thus technical advances result in new products, better products and more easily produced products and, through the resulting rise in wealth, bring about a changing emphasis of demand. But this is not all: the process of growth and decay is still further activated by inter-regional and international changes. Coal and iron ore deposits become depleted; oil and natural gas displace coal; new countries take an increasing share of ship-building and textiles.

Whether present-day social changes are or are not more drastic than before is a moot point, though it is unlikely that we have anything today whose effects are so disruptive as the conversion from the domestic to the factory system in the early decades of the industrial revolution. Railways and steamships each brought their transformations, while the breakdown of the tribal system in Africa and the feudal system in Asia have produced profound social changes in those continents.

It is difficult to compare the magnitude of these changes because, until recently, the requisite statistics did not exist. The fact that we take the trouble to collect the statistics today is symptomatic of our changed attitudes to social problems; the degree of tolerance of privation, insecurity and suffering is much lower today than it was thirty years ago. Public opinion expects governments to be concerned about such matters; we have the physical resources and the necessary knowledge (albeit imperfect) to do something about them.

The O.E.C.D. seminar at Castelfusano in November 1963 was occupied with problems of adaptation insofar as they required the geographical or occupational mobility of manpower. The delegates considered four reports(2) and eight case studies and in addition received statements from the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Economic Community, the Council of Europe and the International Labour Office. There were differences of opinion between employers' and trade union delegates; there were differences in viewpoint and emphasis between delegates from different countries. But a wide area of general agreement is demonstrated in the resolutions that were adopted at the end of the seminar(3). The delegates stressed the need for and advantages of "efficient and adequate programmes for facilitating the occupational and geographical mobility of the working population".

There were certain aspects of mobility that were not included in the terms of reference, the most important being the mobility of industry. International labour movements and the movement out of agriculture were also excluded. This was not because one aspect of mobility was considered to be more important than another, but merely to dismantle the problem into manageable parts. The O.E.C.D. programme on manpower studies includes subsequent seminars on these other aspects and it requires no stressing that, in dealing with each aspect of the problem, the other aspects must also be borne in mind. Indeed, as one of the case studies shows, in Italy it is impossible to separate the general subject of geographical mobility from that of the drift of manpower from the country to the towns(1).

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(1) That is to say, that each rise in real income causes a more-than-proportionate rise in demand for those services or products.

(2) Appendices 1 to 4 of this report.

(3) Reproduced on page 116.

The extent of the problem

If there were perfect adaptation in the labour market, offers of employment would be exactly matched by the appropriate array of skills in the right places: the requirements of employers would be anticipated by employees and matched as far as possible, and employers would not make offers that they knew were impossible to accept. In reality, this degree of equilibrium could be achieved only in a stagnant society; disequilibrium is a characteristic of progress and established plans are constantly being upset by new developments. Under the impact of change, employers look for labour that is not there, while unemployed workers hopefully wait for jobs that do not materialise.

Thus in the nine European countries listed on page (126), there were, in total in 1962, about a million vacancies coincident with over a million unemployed workers. Whatever the reasons for this failure to adapt, its cost is obviously enormous: the sum of the amounts spent on maintaining the unemployed from social insurance funds and the value of the product foregone by the persistence of the unfilled jobs. But this is not the end of the story. Employers and workers adapt their expectations to what they believe to be practicable; the filling of vacancies itself creates more vacancies by speeding the execution of business plans and encouraging employers to ask for more of the sorts of labour (in skill or place) which they had previously had little hope of finding. Further, an increase of job opportunities itself brings forth additional supplies of labour, especially of married women who do not trouble to register themselves as work-seekers when there is little hope of finding work(2).

Of course, the cost of adapting the available labour to the requirements of the vacant jobs would itself be very high; indeed, the disparity between the demands for work and the demands for labour has its origins in the past, at a time when young people were entering the labour market without proper education or training, and can itself be remedied only as part of a long-term programmes. The point here to be stressed is that, however expensive the programme, it is unlikely to approach the cost of allowing the present maldistribution to continue.

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(1) See below, page (35).

(2) See Appendix 1, page (121).

In part, we see here a failure of geographical mobility - of workers to move to jobs or jobs to move to workers. In every country represented at the seminar there were regions where employment opportunities were lagging behind the birth-rate or were stagnant or declining, as well as regions of rapid expansion. An index of these contrasts is given by differences in regional levels of unemployment that sometimes persist over many years. The population of Scotland is half that of the London and South-Eastern Region of England, yet there are substantially more unemployed in the former than in the latter(1). In the United States in 1962, unemployment ranged from 2.8 per cent in South Dakota to 10.9 per cent in West Virginia(2). Thus it is not unusual for national development to be delayed by shortages of labour in some areas, while in others, workers suffer insecurity and unemployment.

In part, the problem consists of a deficiency of occupational mobility: in particular, a surplus of unskilled workers and a shortage of craftsmen. In the United States in 1962, "labourers, except farm and mine" constituted 5.2 per cent of employed persons but 12.5 per cent of the unemployed. In the years 1947 to 1962, at worst 6.8 per cent of craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers were unemployed, compared with 10.9 per cent of operatives and kindred workers and 14.9 per cent of labourers, except farm and mine(3).

For the United Kingdom, additional information is available relating to the occupational distribution of the vacancies notified to Employment Exchanges and unfilled on a particular day(4). Here again, employment falls most heavily on the unskilled, with labourers constituting 54 per cent of unemployed men - more than four times their proportion in the occupied population. For the whole of Great Britain, in June 1963, there were registered with the Employment Exchanges 324,000 unemployed labourers, for whom there were only 12,000 unfilled vacancies.

It is disturbing that so many young people are still being released on to the labour market with a minimum of schooling and little chance of acquiring occupational skill when there is already a superfluity of unskilled labour.

What has so far been said indicates but cannot define the extent of the problem. It does not define it because the effects of failures to adapt are cumulative: each month and each year, a start is made from a point lower than would otherwise have been reached. These are not once-for-all losses, but losses that mount and accumulate over the years, so that society ten or twenty years hence will still be paying for the lost opportunities of today.

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(1) See Appendix 1, page (128).

(2) "Manpower Report of the President", U.S. Department of Labor, March 1963, page 171.

(3) Op. cit., pages 143 and 145.

(4) "Statistics on Incomes, Prices, Employment and Production", No. 6, September 1963 (London, H.M.S.O.), page 88 et seq.

It should be stressed that there is not only a problem set by a deficiency of mobility: there is also a problem of excess mobility. The hiring and induction of a new worker is an expensive process;when a worker leaves a job, all sorts of items of technique or special knowledge are lost. Yet eight million workers changed jobs in the United States in 1961, about a third of them more than once(1). Monthly engagements in that year averaged 4.1 per cent of those on payrolls, while monthly separation averaged 4.0 per cent, so that, on average, job-changes amounted to almost half the entire number of employers. In Britain, turnover in manufacturing industries involves between 30 and 40 per cent of the labour force each year. In France, about a fifth of the labour force is involved in job changes each year(2).

The reasons for changing jobs are multitudinous, but it appears that a minority of the changes can be considered economically or socially sound and that the majority are psychopathological in nature. In the United States in 1961, only a third of the changes were ascribed to improvement in status(3). A positive manpower policy would therefore entail not only the stimulation of constructive mobility, but the diminution of mobility that is economically and socially destructive.

GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY

Labour turnover is a measure of all sorts of mobility except that between different jobs in the same firm. Inter-regional migration, which accounts for part of this turnover, is itself on a considerable scale, though, as we have seen, rarely on a large enough scale to diminish inter-regional differences in levels of unemployment.

Between 1955 and 1960, 17 per cent of the population of the United States changed residence between counties and about half of these had moved not only between counties but also between states. Of France, Roland Pressat wrote: "The 43 emigration departments which, together, (between 1954 and 1962) have lost 437,500 inhabitants, are situated principally in the West ...., in the Massif Central and the agricultural zones of the North and East. In relative value, this emigration generally represents from 2 per cent to 6 per cent of the 1954 population ... The 46 departments with net immigration (total increase: 1,773,800 inhabitants), are important urban centres....(1)".

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(1) Appendix 2, Table 2.
(2) Appendix 1, page (129)
(3) Appendix 2, Table 6.

In the ten major regions of Great Britain, too, there have been substantial movements of manpower. While the total employee population rose by 9 per cent between 1950 and 1961, the increase varied from 2 per cent for Scotland to 22 per cent for the Eastern and Southern Region of England(2).

Superficially, these movements seem to have economic purpose: to be the actions of economically-motivated people, who naturally wish to leave declining regions and move to those that have greater promise. The surprising thing is that the net figures are the result of massive movements in two directions - people leave contracting areas for expanding areas, but there is also a flow (though less strong) in the opposite direction. There is a net movement away from the South in the United States, but of those living in the South in 1960, 883,000 had been in the North-East in 1955, 1,088,000 in the North-Central and 519,000 in the West(3). In Britain, too, this two-way migration is demonstrated. In the year ended June 1962, for instance, 142,000 men moved into employment in London and the South-Eastern Region from some other region, while 132,000 went in the opposite direction. In Scotland, 32,000 men moved out but 21,000 moved in. A small proportion of each influx might consist of key personnel imported by firms opening new plants in the region; but a very large proportion must consist of an economically-meaningless shuffling round of jobs - workers leaving one region and being replaced by similar workers from other regions.

How are these movements to be explained? Is it possible to harness the immense energy involved so that it may perform a socially useful task?

Appendix 1 reviews the empirical studies that have been made into geographical mobility and immobility. It appears that there is a solid core of people - indeed, core may be too restrictive a term, since this applies to a considerable majority of the population - that is almost completely immobile; that, over considerable periods of time, does not change domicile, industry, occupation or job. On the average, workers in Britain or the United States may change jobs once in two years, but this is because a small number of people make many changes while a large number do not change at all. In the ten-year period covered by the "Six Cities" study in the United States, the most mobile sample was that in Los Angeles, but even there about a quarter of those investigated made no job change in the period. In Philadelphia, 38 per cent of the men and 43 per cent of the women remained in one job for the ten years. Geographically, "Three fourths of all men in the six cities who had ever worked at a skilled job from 1940 to 1950 made no change of employer involving a distance of more than 50 miles"(1).

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(1) Appendix 1, page (130).

(2) Ibid., page (130).

(3) Appendix 1, page (131).

In the United States in 1960, 53 per cent of the population aged five or over were occupying the same house as in 1955. There was a strong inverse correlation between age and movement, for, while 47 per cent had moved house at least once, in the age group 20 to 29, the percentage was 73. But, "The high rate of mobility among persons in their 20s is to a considerable extent a reflection of the fact, which is sometimes overlooked in the interpretation of migration data, that normally as children grow up they leave their parental home, marry, and establish homes of their own(2).

A considerable portion of what geographical mobility there is can then be explained by nothing more complex than that when young people get married, they like to establish homes of their own. In what circumstances does the remaining mobility occur? Does it, perhaps, serve the economic ends of a developing society? The studies reviewed in Appendix 1 reveal considerable resistance to geographical movement even when it seems demanded by economic change. Parnes wrote, vis-a-vis studies in the United States, "... to a considerable extent even workers who voluntarily change jobs are not really attracted by more desirable jobs elsewhere so much as they are 'pushed out' of jobs that they find unsatisfactory, and there is no assurance that they subsequently will find jobs better than the ones they leave. Most analyses of reasons for voluntary job changes imply a degree of 'calculation' that in fact does not exist"(3).

Even the closing down of plants and the decline of localised industries does not ordinarily overcome inertia. When an International Harvester plant closed down in Auburn, New York, for instance, Adams and Aronson found that while 58 per cent of the workers said they would be willing to leave the community to get other jobs, only 5 per cent knew of specific jobs available elsewhere. "Most of them just had a feeling that there were jobs to be found in other communities. Few workers were able or willing to act on such slim grounds"(4).

Similar cases reviewed in Europe produce similar findings(5). There are many examples of workers suffering hardship resulting from unemployment and insecurity in preference to uprooting themselves and going to new jobs in a different region, even though facilities may be offered for this purpose by governments or employers. Indeed workers in this predicament may very well lack an essential characteristic for such a change - a feeling of hope and optimism that comes from the sense that one is in command of one's own destiny(1). Failing this, a sense of insecurity, of helplessness, of being shut out of society, may make them cling to the things and associations they know rather than transport themselves to a still more alien world. In these circumstances, government provisions to aid mobility have not been of much effect, for the claimant, to be successful, must as a rule be out of work and without prospect of obtaining a suitable job locally: in fact, in that depressed state in which the necessary enterprise and élan are also certain to be lacking.

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(1) Appendix 1, page (135).
(2) Ibid., page (138).
(3) Ibid., page (134).
(4) Ibid., page (137).
(5) Ibid., page (138).

Governments and employers strike peculiar difficulties when they attempt to persuade workers to move. If they succeed, then the workers tend to be much more demanding and less self-reliant than those who move on their own(2). Jehovah Himself is then not above reproach and the ancient Israelites were bitterly critical of His agent, Moses and, on occasion, even demanded to be returned to their bondage in Egypt.

Charles A. Myers' summary of findings for the United States seems to have general validity: "Young people seeking their first job and workers looking for new jobs seldom make a systematic search of available job opportunities. They usually take the first job offered.They hear of jobs most frequently through friends and relatives employed in the plant, or through random and haphazard visits to plant employment offices. The public employment service is frequently a last resort for unemployed workers who cannot find jobs in other ways and for employers with jobs remaining unfilled through other recruitment channels. The overall impression of local labour markets which emerges from these studies then, is one of considerable haphazard and apparently purposeless movement, many imperfections, and a weak link between mobility and the equalisation of net advantages in different jobs. Most movement appears to be induced by the decline in job opportunities in one plant (or occupation, industry, or region) and the availability or expansion of job opportunities in another, rather than by wage differentials as such"(3).

We are left with a picture, then, of considerable movement, but movement that does not conform with an economic rationale. People may make a psychological adjustment to increased unemployment (which, given a high level of labour turnover, means longer spells of unemployment rather than complete worklessness) in preference to the physical readjustment of moving to a more prosperous area. This inertia is reinforced by unemployment pay whose payment is not conditional on a willingness to move, by family allowances and the possibility of losing a subsidised municipal house.

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(1) Appendix 1, page (140).

(2) Ibid., page 139.

(3) Ibid., page 123.

On the other hand, there are at any moment a large number of people who would prefer to be somewhere other than where they are. They may wish to join relations or escape from them; to leave the quiet of a village for the bustle of a big town or, less frequently, the reverse; or to live near mountains, river or sea. But there are two prerequisites for a move - a job and a house in the desired place. Here the importance of informal links (relatives and friends) in the receiving area shows itself. Their advice is readily accepted, whilst that from official sources is regarded with suspicion. In addition, these personal contacts are of great practical help in getting both houses and jobs. In particular, employers will often give preference to relatives of their own employees, who can vouch for the character of the new man, induct him to the firm and reinforce their own and his loyalty to it.

Thus net flows accord with economic factors because in areas of economic growth, new opportunities arise more frequently, and thus the conjuncture of circumstances that makes a move possible. Families wishing to move to Scotland, Alabama or the Midi would, on average, have to wait longer for a suitable job to turn up than those wishing to move to South-East England, California or Grenoble.

Some of the studies reviewed in Appendix 1 throw light on the human motivations involved in migration; a pilot investigation by the University of Sussex in Brighton revealed something of the variety of these motivations; a large-scale study sponsored by the Ministry of Labour in the United Kingdom should further clarify the problem. A better understanding is of great importance in policy formation, for it would enable governments, employers and trade unions to satisfy human aspirations by assisting people to go where they want to and at the same time satisfy national economic aspirations by facilitating the movement of manpower to those places where it will be most productive An active manpower policy must, of course, look at all relevant aspects of the problem: as well as the mobility of labour, the location of industry, the location and expansion of cities, and population policy.

Discussion on the paper on Geographical Mobility of Manpower

Mr. Solomon Barkin(1) commented on the apparent paradox of the inflow of workers into a depressed area. Was it not possible that this phenomenon, demonstrated in Table 4 of Appendix 1, would be elucidated on further analysis? In depressed regions there might be areas of growth within which certain skills would be in short supply and have to be imported from other areas. An analysis into individual areas and specific skills might show the paradoxes to be less sharp. The studies showed that there are certain types of people in any community who are more willing to move than others. Home-owners move less frequently, young people and single men more frequently. Professional management people in the United States move very frequently, whereas in Europe they move much less. Thus certain people need more assistance to mobility than others.

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(1) Deputy to the Director of Manpower and Social Affairs and Head of the Social Affairs Division, O.E.C.D.

Mr. R. Clark(1) introduced a distinction that was subsequently to occasion much discussion: that was, between voluntary and involuntary mobility. Involuntary mobility was a subject that demanded the closest attention. It has been said that professional workers are more mobile by tradition than manual workers. If we look at why professional workers move voluntarily, we might be able to explain why manual workers do not. He suggested that mobility was a habit formed in student days - students generally attended universities away from home and travelled during their holidays, thus becoming acquainted with other people and other places. In addition, after qualification, they moved in less restricted circles than manual workers. Their future was secure; they moved as opportunities presented themselves. Their housing problems were more or less settled for them when they moved, because invariably it was to a better job: a step up. This habit would in due course be passed on to their children. By contrast, manual workers knew very little about areas or industries outside their own. These two instances displayed a very clear difference between volun- and involuntary mobility.

Mr. Panajiotis Papadimitriou(2) cited international migration as an example of involuntary or enforced mobility. In this case, the migrant was forced to move by lack of employment in his own country.The country from which they came hoped they would return one day, better trained, better skilled. If this did not happen, a country such a Greece, would be forced to remain an agricultural country.

Mr. Claude Vimont(3) also took up the theme of the two sorts of mobility. In France, there had been voluntary migration from the centre to the north or east, without many problems. Then forced migration followed, in particular from the collieries, to the same regions to which others had gone voluntarily. The involuntary movements were characterised by resistance and ill-humour. Voluntary migration was often accompanied by hopes of promotion, which might be disappointed but still enabled a worker to leave a region without regret. In the case of forced migration, on the other hand, the workman had the impression of a demotion and a deterioration in his position. When it was necessary to move workers, careful psychological preparation was needed to avoid these negative reactions.

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(1) Secretary, North-Midland Regional Advisory Committee; official of the Amalgamated Engineering Union; representing the British Trades Union Congress.

(2) Member of the Administrative Committee, Greek General Confederation of Labour; General-Secretary of the Chemical Industry Workers' Federation.

(3) Deputy Director, National Institute of Demographic Studies, Paris.

Dr. Hans Reithofer(1) stressed that the trade unions supported geographical mobility of manpower only when it was impossible to bring jobs to the workers. It was better to create new enterprises in depressed areas than to expect workers to move. There was a problem of loss of rights: when an Austrian mine-worker moved he lost pension and other social rights and it was important to remedy this. The paper had suggested that priority should be given to workers who had to move in the allocation of housing, but this might cause conflict with workers already in a developing area who lacked a proper dwelling. Mr Barkin queried the preciseness and usefulness of a distinction between voluntary and involuntary mobility. While voluntary migration was the movement of a person on his own initiative, there were various possible meanings for involuntary migration. The implication of the speakers was that migration is involuntary if a person has lost his job and had then to think of moving to another area to get another - but people who indulge in voluntary migration might be in the same position. Again, the distinction they had in mind might be that the voluntary migrant is a person who has a job, but who nonetheless goes into another region, leaving a job he already possesses - but what if he anticipated that in any case he would lose his job in a month or two? The distinction would have to be sharpened up if it were to become meaningful.

Mr. Vimont replied that he was considering the very special case of a worker who is informed that he can no longer be employed in his present place, but whose employer offers him another job in a different region. This he would define as involuntary migration.

Dr. Walter Schlotfeldt(2) defined geographical mobility as the capacity of a person to move from one part of the country to another. We should ask if a given worker is able to move, then define the reasons for which movement was desirable, after which it would be much easier to find ways to induce him to move. While certain things could be learnt from a study of the statistics, the more fundamental requirement was to discover why one worker was mobile and another was not.

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(1) Department for Labour Market Policy, Austrian Federation of Chambers of Labour.

(2) Deputy Head of Division, Confederation of German Employers' Organisations.

In reply, Dr. Routh referred to the large-scale inquiry being conducted in the United Kingdom by the Ministry of Information's Social Survey Division(1). Mr. Vimont had mentioned a similar inquiry projected by the Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques for France. It was to be hoped that other countries would follow suit, for from such studies we might learn the characteristics of mobile as against immobile people. It was dangerous to rely on hypotheses, however plausible they might be, unless they were based on facts or supported by empirical research.

He agreed with Mr. Clark that wider education would increase mobility. Most workers were incredibly ignorant about conditions in the next town, let alone other parts of a country or other countries. In these circumstances, it was understandable that they would rather stay where they were than make a change they might regret. One way to make people more mobile, then, would be to educate them about their own country. Television had already done much to widen horizons and could no doubt do much more. School-children might be taken to visit different parts of the country as part of their school curriculum, and in these and other ways something might be done to remedy the acute problem of ignorance of opportunities and of other regions.

But moving oneself and one's family was an extremely costly business so that, if reliance were to be placed on economic inducements, the gain in pay would have to be proportionately great. This condition was often realised in the case of professional people, who looked forward to personal promotion as a means of ascending the income ladder. A move was generally associated with some quite substantial rise in income which might in itself be equal to the entire year's income of a manual worker. By contrast, manual workers did not usually look forward to promotion as a means to higher income - they expected rather to progress with their group through collective bargaining. But as real income rises, moving costs would become a smaller proportion of income so that one might expect mobility to increase. He agreed with Mr. Vimont on the importance of psychological preparation. Indeed, the process should be begun very far back by educating people to the attractiveness of their own country.

Like Mr. Barkin, Dr. Routh saw logical difficulties in distinguishing between voluntary and involuntary mobility. If we feel for whatever reasons that it is desirable for workers to move from one area to another, then we are faced with the problem of making them want to move - Mr. Vimont's psychological preparation. This is something in which the trade unions might be expected to participate much more that they do. If an employer or government official suggests a move, the reaction was likely to be hostile; if the suggestion comes from a worker's own organisation, in which he has confidence, it is likely to be more sympathetically received. But the trade union attitude, as Mr. Reithofer remarked, was that it was in some sense wrong to expect workers to move and in some sense right to bring jobs to the workers. There was great merit in this argument - industries nowadays were much less dependent on location - but it is still none the less true that a multitude of people do want to move from whatever area they find themselves in, for a multitude of reasons, and this the trade unions might help to do without in any way infringing the rights of those of their members who prefer to remain where they are.

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(1) See Appendix 1, page (141).

Mr. Papadimitriou had referred to international migration and, though this was outside the terms of reference of the seminar, it was worth noting that in it one saw the problems associated with internal movements greatly magnified. There were big incentives to international migration: more regular employment and higher pay that might result, in annual income being more than doubled, better social services and education for the children. Thus workers were prepared to make extraordinary sacrifices in order to move. As a result, it was harder to persuade workers to move from Wales to Birmingham than to travel the thousands of miles from Pakistan or the West Indies to Britain. The flow was a matter of the relative levels of development of two countries and whether it would be reversed depended on the economic progress of the country of origin.

In seeking ways to facilitate mobility, it should be remembered that there was already a good deal of mobility that was economically and socially undesirable. In the form of labour turnover, this was a problem confronting nearly every employer.

CASE STUDIES

Recruitment of staff for the newly established steel industry Oxelösunds Jarnverk (Sweden)

reported by Mr. Bertil Liljeqvist(1)

Mr. Liljeqvist reported on what was in effect a combined operation by management, trade unions and government in establishing a new steel plant.

In October 1957, the Swedish government bought out the half share of Grängesbergsbolaget in a large mining concern within the Arctic circle. The company decided to invest this money in the enlargement of

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(1) Director, Oxelösunds Jarnverk.

Oxelösunds Jarnverk, on the Baltic, into a complete ironworks for the manufacture of heavy steel plate. 500 million Swedish crowns were to be used for this purpose(1). This entailed considerable additional investment (by the company, the State, the Commune and private people) in housing, public utilities, schools, harbours, parks, sports grounds, business and administrative centres.

A joint planning committee was formed of representatives of the community and the company, who had to plan for an increase in population of Oxelösund from 6,500 in 1957 to between 13,000 and 14,000 in 1964. These included additions to service trades as well as the company's employees and their families. Planning was rapidly and satisfactorily completed, with the co-operation of government and trade union officials, and construction began almost at once.

But the recruitment of construction workers itself required careful planning so as not to disrupt neighbouring economic activity. For this, another joint body was created, with representatives of the company, the local authority, the government employment agency, building contractors and construction workers. At the same time, the local employment service was strengthened, its main task being to channel national labour reserves to Oxelösund, in co-operation with employment services in areas with a surplus of manpower.

There are no legal obstacles to the mobility of manpower in Scandinavia and a number of carpenters were recruited in Finland, by co-operation between the Swedish and Finnish employment services. In addition, when shortages of carpenters or other specialists occurred, unskilled labourers were trained, mainly in courses financed by the State, to fill these jobs.

Table 1 shows the growth of population and housing in the years 1955 to 1962, with the planned or projected increase for the period 1963 to 1965. To date, the company has invested about 25 million Swedish crowns in this community project, and the government and community about 70 million.

With the enlargement of the steel works, 1,300 workers and 600 salaried employees were recruited for production work, again with the co-operation of the company and the employment service. Recruitment was focussed on areas suffering from unemployment. In order to recruit suitable men, great pains were taken by the company to build up accurate job descriptions and job profiles. A thorough examination was made of every newly-employed person, combining the consideration of written and oral references, interview, test and medical examination.

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(1) 5.18 crowns equal $1.00.

Table 1

Number of inhabitants and production of homes 1956 - 1965

Year	Population in thousands	Increase in the population	Increase due to removal	Excess of births	Production of homes	Production per 100 inhabitants
1955	6,042					
1956	6,297	250(4.5%)	200	50	88	35
1957	6,573	276(3.7%)	196	55	86	31
1958	7,054	481(7.5%)	428	53	528	110
1959	8,371	1,317(18.4%)	1,235	82	441	33
1960	10,007	1,636(19.5%)	1,557	82	421	26
1961	11,654	1,647(16.4%)	1,482	155	464	28
1962	12,518	864(7.4%)	705	163	473	60
1963(x)	13,000	500(4.0%)	350	150	(250)	
1964(x)	13,450	450	300	150		
1965(x)	13,840	390	240	150		

(x) Estimated.

An exercise of this sort required both geographical and occupational mobility of the new recruits and the company conducted an elaborate training programme.

Measures to aid geographical mobility

Recruits were brought to Oxelösund from all over Sweden:

Recruits from		Percentage of newly employed	Number of inhabitants in the area	Relative coefficient $3 = \frac{1 \times 10^5}{2}$
		1	2	3
Area No. I	the province of Södermanland where Oxelösund is situated	29%	250,000	11.6
Area No. II	surrounding the province of Södermanland and consisting of six provinces	32%	2,300,000	1.4
Area No. III	consisting of twelve southern provinces	14%	3,500,000	0.4
Area No. IV	consisting of six northern provinces	24%	1,200,000	2.0
Area No. V	outside Sweden	1%		
		100%		

The National Labour Market Board has been authorised to grant travelling allowances, family allowances and starting allowances to workers who move to a new place to obtain work. The conditions are similar to those laid down in most countries: that the worker is unemployed (or, in Sweden, if the employment service considers he is likely to become unemployed in the near future) and unlikely, in the opinion of the employment service, to get work in the immeduate future in or near his place of residence, and that the move is necessary for reasons relating to the labour market. The worker may receive a railway return ticket to enable him to attend an interview and a single ticket to enable him to take up the new job, with an allowance for expenses if the journey takes more than three hours. He may also receive a grant towards the expenses of moving family and/or furniture. If, because of lack of accommodation, he cannot move his family immediately, family allowances are payable for a maximum period of nine months, with the amount being reduced by a third every three months.

Family allowances may be granted in the form of:

(a) Rent benefit equivalent to not more than the actual rent paid for the dwelling occupied by the family in the place the worker has left, including the cost of heating.

(b) Family benefit for the wife/husband of not more than S.Kr. 140 a month.

(c) Family benefit for children or adopted children under 16 years of age amounting to not more than S.Kr. 45 monthly per child.

(d) A housekeeper allowance amounting to not more than S.Kr. 140 a month, on condition that no family benefit is granted for the wife and that the family breadwinner is living together with his own or his wife's children or adopted children under 16 years of age.

In addition, a starting allowance may be granted to encourage unemployed persons to move to places where there is a shortage of manpower. As from 1st July, 1963, this amounted to 500 S.Kr.

Mr. Liljeqvist cited the following cases to illustrate how these allowances were applied and the circumstances in which the moves were made:

Case A

L., 56 years, armourer, with 30 years experience principally at electrical power plants in different places in the north of Sweden. 2-4 years employment in each place. The building of a number of electricity services having been completed, L. had to move to another district to obtain employment. He got in touch with the employment service in his home town which proposed employment in Oxelösund. The family has a family dwelling. Compensation for moving expenses has been paid to an amount of S.Kr. 670.

Case B

V., 51 years, carpenter and boss, 30 years of occupational experience. Born and raised in an area suffering from unemployment in North Sweden near the Finnish frontier. The family has 7 children. Moved already in 1951 to Mid-Sweden, where the family lived for 4 years.The family had adaptation difficulties and returned to their native place on their own initiative. V. could not support his family any longer, was unemployed during the winters of 1957 and 1958. Received benefit from unemployment insurance fund and was employed on public relief works. Had to move to Southern Sweden to earn a living. In the summer of 1958 he got employment again in Oxelösund through the employment service. In January 1959 he obtained family dwelling. The family likes being in Oxelšund, does not want to return to their native place. 2 sons have been employed by Oxelösunds Jarnverk. Family allowance and compensation for moving costs have been paid to an amount of 3,138:50 S.Kr.

Case C

W., 44 years, married with 2 children under 16. Employed as a chrometanner at a leather factory in Valdemarsvik near Norrköping from 1931 to 1960. When the enterprise was closed down, he was unemployed after 29 years of service and could not remain in his home district. The employment service arranged a visit to Oxelösunds Jarnverk to see the ironworks. W. got interested in the establishment and was appointed on 9th May, 1960, as an assembler. Obtained a family dwelling. Was transferred to the steel works 4 months later. Will receive on-the-job-retraining for more skilled tasks. Starting allowances and compensation for moving expenses have been paid to an amount of S.Kr. 550.

Case D

F., 47 years, married, 17-years old twin daughters. Has worked as a factory and construction worker in Dalecarlia. Unemployment periods in the winter. In November 1959 the employment service arranged employment for him as a construction worker in Oxelösund. Family dwelling in December 1960. Through the employment service F. has obtained further training in armouring and cement-grinding. One of his daughters attends a training course to become an office .clerk. Starting allowance and family allowances have been paid to an amount of 2,658.69 S.Kr.

Case E

J., 40 years, was for many years an unskilled construction labourer living in an area suffering from unemployment in South Eastern Sweden. He is married and has 4 children. Was unemployed in the autumn of 1959 when he was offered employment in Oxelösund by the employment service. He was used to being unemployed for longer or shorter periods during the six winter months. Since March 1962 J. is being retrained to become a carpenter with the co-operation of his employer, the Labour Market Board and the Board of Vocational Training (KOY). According to calculations, the course will be completed at the end of this year. During the first 7 weeks of the course-period a training allowances was paid out by the County Labour Board. J. has not yet found a dwelling. The following public grants and compensation have been paid:

	S.Kr.
Journey to Oxelösund..............................	48
Subsistence allowance.............................	9
Starting allowance................................	300
Family allowance..................................	2,620.85
Training allowance from the County Labour Board..........................	1,159.10
Hourly allowance from KOY.........................	279.50
Total	4,416.45

Discussion

Mr. Liljeqvist was asked whether workers did not feel uprooted on moving to Oxelösund; what techniques were used to inform workers in neighbouring provinces of the vacancies; whether houses were built by public authorities or the company. It was remarked that the results of the exercise were most encouraging, an index of its success being the lowness of labour turnover. Other questions related to the status of recruits - whether they included workers who were already in employment - and the role of the trade unions.

Mr. Liljeqvist replied that all recruiting had been done through the National Labour Market Board, the recruits being people who were unemployed or who came to the Board's offices wishing to change jobs. The company did not advertise, but its plans were known all over Sweden. Visitors flocked to the town and everyone who wanted to see what was going on was shown around. No one was hired until he had come to see for himself, often with his wife and family.

A sociological study was in constant operation to determine reactions to what was being done; both the community and the company tried to correct anything that was shown to be going wrong.

Apart from five or six apartment houses and a few villas, housing was done through the Government scheme through which loans were available. These were augmented by the company in certain cases.

Rather than by letter, decisions were made an problems solved by discussion, with representatives of the community, the National Labour Market Board and the trade union. All did their best and an operation that might have caused a revolution was performed smoothly and satisfactorily. The co-operation that had been achieved had been most illuminating.

Trade union assistance to workers migrating from the south to the north of Italy

reported by Guido Baglioni(1)

Although rural-urban migration was excluded from the terms of reference of the seminar, it was felt that much could be learnt apropos other forms of geographical mobility and occupational mobility by consideration of the Italian case, where virtually all forms of manpower mobility co-exist in concentrated form. The major movement is of all sorts of labour from the south to the north. This "internal emigration", as it is called, is a major aspect of the current economic, social and cultural transformation of Italy. It has reached totally unexpected proportions, finding Italian society unprepared for the estimation and solution of the problems it involves.

Population changes between 1951 and 1961
in thousands of inhabitants

Regions	Natural Growth	Actual Growth	Emigrational (-) or Immigrational(+) movement
North-West..........	323	1,352	+ 1,029
Centre-East.........	1,169	812	- 457
South and Sicily....	2,656	884	- 1,866
Italy	4,148	3,048	- 1,100

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(1) Of the Italian Confederation of Trade Unions (C.I.S.L.).

The essential causes of this population movement are the extraordinary development of the Italian economy, primarily in the industrial areas of Lombardy and Piedmont, and the development of social aspirations and cultural levels in rural areas, and generally in the depressed areas of the south. The first of these causes has fundamentally changed the distribution of employable but unemployed manpower in the depressed areas: traditionally, particularly between 1880 and 1930, excess Italian manpower emigrated abroad, but more recently emigration abroad has become much less significant than migration within the country.

There is in fact a substantial difference between emigration in the past and the present "internal emigration"(1). The first was a flight from hunger, whereas the second is - or tends to be - a calculated exodus. At the root of the decision is a belief that there is no chance of progress at home, owing to the structural inadequacy of the society, whereas elsewhere in the country a more highly-evolved society offers better chances of advancement to all.

A characteristic of this internal migration is that most emigrants leave home not simply to improve their income or to find steady work: they turn their backs on the place in which they were born and grew up, without any intention of returning, because they are convinced that elsewhere they will find a better society, more capable of satisfying the expectations and needs that all men today experience in common.

The features of this movement are as follows:

(a) Other areas are involved besides those traditionally depressed. The movement cannot be regarded as normal manpower mobility, because many workers emigrate without solid guarantees of finding work and without possessing the necessary cultural or occupational preparation for their urban and industrial integration. Further, migration in many cases is no longer determined, as in the past, by absolute necessity, with the migrant still considering his home as the place where he would like to live, if only a job - even with a modest wage - could be found there.

(b) The reasons for emigration to the industrial areas of the North are both economic and otherwise. Quite a substantial amount of agricultural manpower in the North itself migrates towards the towns, in spite of the fact that unskilled labour in industry earns less than labour in the primary sector. In this case, as in others, extra-economic motives prevail, particularly amongst the younger generation. This fact is further confirmed in that agricultural manpower in the South migrates to the North not in quest of work in agriculture, even where employment in farming would offer concrete advantages, but rather in search of work in the secondary and tertiary sectors, and almost invariably settles in towns or in the suburbs of large cities.

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(1) For a more detailed examination of Italian emigration abroad, see F. Alberoni and G. Baglioni: "Strutture e forme delle migrazioni italiane esterne", in "Studi di Sociologia", I, 3, July-September, 1963.

(c) Emigration from the South to the industrial areas is (as stated) generally for good, and therefore involves entire families, although the men or the head of the family may make the experiment first.

(d) The settlement of large numbers of immigrants in zones of their election has been substantially peaceful, so much so that the cases of anti-social behaviour amongst immigrants - so frequently enlarged upon by the daily press - may be considered as pathological.

What has been said so far makes it possible to make some specific remarks concerning the process of integration of immigrants:

Generally speaking immigrants adapt themselves, or rather integrate, quite rapidly and easily - even those from economically and socially less evolved areas - thanks to their frequent awareness and acceptance of the way of living in the new community. This does not mean that there are no integration problems: the new community holds more problems for the immigrant than his former community, and employment is based on quite other criteria than in the country. However, many forces operate to take the drama out of integration, the immigrant himself strongly desiring to integrate.

The traditional "immigrant" - up-rooted, unhappy, and wishing he were back home - is not very frequently encountered in the present migratory movement within Italy. Integration problems are essentially structural, rather than cultural: such organisational problems as finding a place to stay initially, finding a place to live, finding suitable work, the necessity of obtaining occupational training, transport facilities between home and work, etc.

These are certainly important problems, but which do not seem to affect the immigrant's hopes, particularly as conditions were frequently worse where he came from.

The fact that these are the main characteristics of internal migration does not mean that there are no immigrants who have not integrated, and who are not prepared to accept what is implicit in the way of living in the North: these are found in all categories - clerks, labourers, men, women, town or country dwellers, etc. - who are in this situation for purely contingent reasons, individual inclination, or disillusionment through having faced particularly trying circumstances. It may be asserted, however, that they are not always those who have encountered the greatest difficulties, or who are the least comfortably housed on the fringe of cities, or who can feel that they are discriminated against.

Mr. Baglioni went on to enunciate the policy of the Democratic Union towards migration. The Union had adopted an unequivocal policy while the larger part of public opinion was still astonished and upset by the magnitude of the movement. The Union's attitude is characterised by full acceptance of the migratory movement, in that it favours the improvement of the balance of population and resources throughout the country.

The Executive Committee of the C.I.S.L. expressed this attitude when it stated that manpower mobility was not bad in principle: it is an aspect of the economic development of the country. This does not mean that it cannot also assume "pathological" forms and proceed at an excessive rate, to the injury of the individual and of the entire system, and therefore that it can be left to itself. It means simply that great care must be taken in any action concerning an occurrence which is in general beneficial, and that the methods and forms of action must be carefully examined.

In recent years, the unions have been of great assistance to the immigrants in connection with the occupational and contractural vicissitudes in the industrialised areas. The circumstances have been as follows:

(a) Full employment in the industrial areas has strengthened the unions and favoured the immigrants because of the absence of the traditional conflicts concerning options on available jobs, which would certainly have affected the feelings of the native-born and immigrants towards each other;

(b) Present activity in the collective agreement field in Italy has greatly improved the situation of non-agricultural workers, and the fact that the Democratic Union has adopted the factory level as the most suitable agreement level means that it is in a position to prevent or remedy specific situations of discrimination and exploitation in which immigrants may find themselves;

(c) Vigorous and frequent union action in the renewal of collective wage agreements or the establishment of factory agreements, has enabled immigrants to become familiar with and understand the principles which govern labour relations in industrial areas. For some immigrants, this action has resulted in the attainment of positions of note and responsibility within the factory and the community.

In all probability, the phase during which the unions faced the immigration problems with much good will but without concrete or specific policies is about to close and a second phase is approaching in which the unions, at least in the major immigration areas, will begin to establish lines of action and to provide the instruments necessary for their pursuance.

This relatively new situation already exists in Milan, on which tens of thousands of emigrants have converged in the last two years, and where the Democratic Union has recently re-oriented its work to take into account the requirements and problems of immigrants, particularly from the South.

The essential criteria involved are:

(a) That the immigrant problem coincides with a series of other problems currently faced by the city of Milan: town expansion, public transport inadequacies, need for the modernisation of public offices, schools, sanitation and health facilities, etc.

This means that a policy specifically designed to deal with the immigrant problem is less indicated than an overall policy of modern and harmonious development, designed to take into account the requirements of both immigrants and "natives". This therefore involves the responsibility of the local authorities, who must rationalise and intensify their action to suit the rapid expansion of the city and environs;

(b) That there are problems coming directly within the scope of the union. The union must exert pressure on the local authorities in respect of the requirements outlined in (a) above, and must meet a variety of new situations in responding to the expectations of the immigrants.

An "immigration office" was therefore formed recently by the "Unione Sindacale Provinciale" C.I.S.L., for the benefit of union members in all categories, which has the task of examining general and specific situations and of determing the union action required. The action necessary is then to be undertaken not by an "ad hoc" group, but by existing union structure, which may however turn to the "immigration office" for information and assistance.

Organisation along these lines is justified by the fact that it is not practicable to add new structures to existing union structures, and that it would be a mistake to deal with immigrants by other means and through individuals other than those looking after the interest of all the other workers.

The project will be given six months (June-December 1963) to prove its value. The working programme laid down for this test period is as follows:

I. Identification of public and other bodies already directly engaged in protecting the material and other interests of immigrants; contact with these bodies, to inform them that the union also intends to take up the problem, and to learn what is in fact being done.

II. Complete documentation concerning immigration into the Milan Province.

III. Identification of all committees, consultative or deliberative, and communal and provincial boards dealing with immigrant questions, on which the C.I.S.L. may or may not be represented, to determine whether or not a special delegate should be appointed for adequate representation in this particular field.

IV. Direct contact "with horizontal or vertical union organisers who have problems connected with immigration for a preliminary study of the situation".

V. Contact with welfare workers, the personnel of local administration offices, and the organisations dealing with immigration, to ascertain possible future fields of action.

VI. Contact with the provincial union offices in emigration areas to find out emigrants' requirements.

Now we must ascertain the nature of the internal migratory movement itself; the resources available or created to deal with it (whether used or not); the tendencies and attitudes of the authorities and other bodies concerned with the problem, and what they are actually doing.

It will then be possible to pass on to a second phase, in which the forms of action will be decided according to the picture of the situation that has developed:

(a) Action coming directly within the scope of the union against infringement of social legislation and contractual agreements, for occupational training, etc.

(b) Action entrusted directly to employers and welfare;

(c) Action obtained indirectly by union pressure on local authorities (hygiene, sanitation, housing, schooling, etc.).

The typical procedure in this second phase will be to tackle local situations singly, finding the right remedy for each case in cooperation with other trade unions, area secretaries (horizontal structure), shop stewards, and persons possessing administrative, economic, or sociological training and willing to assist the union.

At the time of writing, the first phase has only just been launched, so that it is not yet possible to estimate the value of the project, or to see what changes may be necessary for the success of what will certainly be a most significant experiment.

Discussion

Dr. Routh commented on the fact, described in Mr. Baglioni's paper, that in Northern Italy the exodus of agricultural manpower to the towns takes place despite the fact that the pay of those concerned is lower in the towns than in the country, and asked whether there had been any inquiry to test the motivations of those who move to the towns in these circumstances. The Italian experience was of unusual interest because it seemed to be taking place without much opposition from the old inhabitants of the towns, whereas in other countries newcomers often ran into trouble in their contacts with the natives, and also because of the sympathetic attitude of the trade unions. In some countries, it had been found difficult to persuade migrants to join unions, and difficult to persuade the unions to admit them to skilled jobs.

Mr. Papadimitriou commented on the great efforts made in Italy for the development of the south and asked whether the influence of this on south-north migration could be discerned? He was interested, too, in the measures that had been taken for the training of unskilled rural manpower.

Mr. Milano put forward the view that migration out of agriculture was not for higher income but for different conditions of life. He asked Mr. Baglioni to comment on the reforms relating to job-seeking and job-finding whose effect would be to pass over part of this responsibility to the unions rather than keep it in the hands of the government. Would this change be useful, and to whom?

Mr. Barkin asked whether the establishment of the Immigration Office by the "Unione Sindacale Provinciale" in Milan was thought necessary to overcome part of the gap in public and private services, or to compete with them?

Mr. Baglioni, replying, agreed that the move from agriculture in the north to the industrial regions was a surprising phenomenon. The sacrifice of income did not occur in the south, where agricultural incomes were much lower, but in the Po Valley agricultural productivity was amongst the highest in Europe. Comparisons showed that, in the north, the pay of agricultural workers was above that of unskilled workers in industry. His own researches north of the Po river showed that the cost of living in agricultural areas was lower than that in the towns, so that even if there had been a parity of money wages, agricultural workers would have been better off. At first, the agricultural worker joins the pendulum movement, moving to and from between town and home, and so incurs extra transport costs. Although, since 1955, agricultural workers do not have their wages augmented by payments in kind, they do get free houses. Despite these facts, the exodus from this rich agricultural region continues. The life of the peasant is identified as a mode of life entirely different from urban life, and is now rejected. No acceptable new profile has yet emerged.

On the question of discrimination, the initial antagonism of the natives tended to disappear when they found that people from the south did not differ much from themselves. Sometimes it might emerge as a reaction to a housing shortage - young couples from the south might have five children and before long they might have ten. In Genoa and Milan immigration had been fairly evenly distributed over the years but in Turin it had been more difficult to cope with because much more concentrated.

The policy of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was that workers should have freedom of choice. The duty of the unions was to assist them, whatever that choice might be. No obstacles had been raised by the unions in Italy to their obtaining employment, and in some establishments they were actually in the majority. In the main, they did repetitive work that did not entail much responsibility and so hastened the promotion of non-immigrants.

To Mr. Papadimitriou, he replied that the rationalisation of agriculture in the south had the initial effect of speeding up migration. Because of the magnitude of the movement, it was impossible to operate training schemes specially for migrants. Training really began at school, and the school system and subsequent training facilities were the same for migrants as for others.

He agreed with Mr. Milano that income differences were not a basic cause of migration; it depended on a complex of social factors. It seemed that migration would continue for some time to come:in the present phase, family migration was following the initial movement of the males. While experts might go from the north to the south to help in development, the trend from south to north continued. At present 30 per cent cent of the active population was in agriculture, and there would be further reductions in this proportion, not a return from the secondary and tertiary sectors.

Mr. Pietro Bernasconi(1) gave an outline of his research into the "pendulum movement" to which Mr. Baglioni had referred. The Industrial Association of Lombardy had begun research in 1952 into the nature and magnitude of the movement of workers between their homes and places of work. In co-operation with public and private enterprises, railway and trolley-bus services, they had investigated the movement between centres of attraction and centres of repulsion.There was a daily movement of 237,000 people into Milan, Sesto san Giovanni, Monza and Legnano, the main force of attraction being exercised by Milan. Of the 181,000 entering Milan, by public transport 128,000 lived in the Province of Milan and the rest in neighbouring provinces. An additional 85,000 people reached Milan in their own means of transport. Milan was also the greatest centre of repulsion, with 17,500 leaving each day to work outside the city.

The high cost of housing in Milan had discouraged people from seeking houses there, so that a third of those who worked in the city came in as part of the pendulum process, and this absorbed a high proportion of those who lived in neighbouring municipalities.

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(1) Industrial Association of Lombardy.

Company re-location as experienced in the United States

reported by John Liegey(1)

Mr. Liegey described the experience of W.R. Grace in relocating the company's northern plant in the south of the United States. The company employs between five and six hundred employees in the chemical industry, operates four manufacturing plants in the United States and maintains a headquarters staff office in a separate location. Two plants are in the North East, one in the South East and one in the Middle West. The company manufactures plastics, with applications in the food and packaging industry. From the time when the product emerged from the laboratory ten years ago, sales have grown to $30 million a year and are still growing substantially. Workers are recruited within a small radius of the original plant in the North, and as the company grew their skills were developed. These workers were used as the nucleus for foreman-level jobs in the new locations.

The study concerns a decision to relocate the company's large northern plant in a less costly area of the country and, by so doing, to take advantage of the long-term savings to invest in expanded plant operations so as to manufacture a newly-developed product. The president of the company explained his thoughts to his top management, after which management teams or committees were formed with specific responsibilities to study various aspects of the operation. The Industrial Relations specialist studied the human problems involved and was in addition an ex officio member of each of the other committees, with a duty to ensure effective co-ordination.

About two months were spent in this way, during which complete secrecy was maintained concerning the purpose and nature of the studies. Amongst top management itself there was a faction, native to the area, who strongly opposed the move and sought alternative solutions. However, the weight of evidence produced by the studies pointed clearly to a relocation at or near the site of the southern plant.

During the course of the studies conducted in the field of industrial relations, many hours were spent searching out the experience of other companies in the United States who had gone through a major geographical relocation. Much knowledge had been gained in the textile industry but few studies had been reduced to writing and, as a result, the company involved had to be sought out in each case and reliance placed on the memories of those involved.

In addition, few companies were faced with similar economic factors. The textile industry was declining in the North with automation as a factor, as well as antiquated physical facilities. These factors obviously were not factors in our growing chemical company. Competition was, however, and the economics of getting the product to the market profitably was the forceful factor. A strong urge on the part of the President to consolidate and centralise his operations and to effect the various economies of size in a given area was the secondary factor. Coupled, these factors were sufficient to bring about a decision to relocate.

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(1) Industrial Relations Director, W.R. Grace Overseas Chemical Division.

The weight of other company experience dictated that before an announcement was made to employees, a well defined approach should be prepared for presentation to them in order to avoide the costly mistake of confusion and panic. Employee backgrounds and personal histories were categorised, and a common denominator was arrived at for each of the levels of employees. The approach used for workers obviously could not be used for clerical staff, nor could the approach used for clerical workers be used for management employees. And so, different programmes were laid out and the requirements of each group thoroughly considered prior to the announcement of the move and presentation of the company's plan to execute the move. It may be well to remember at this point, that a long time lapse would be necessary between the time of the announcement and the effective date of the move. It was, we generally felt,that we could not attempt to build a plant and a central office location and keep this activity quiet. The best estimate of completion of the physical layout in the new location was eleven months, though as it finally worked out, this could have been longer and there would still have been sufficient time to complete or carry out all the plans and programmes that had been developed.

The various groups of employees were called together for a meeting and a talk by the President. All on the same day meetings were scheduled. Management, clerical, and workers' meetings in which the President discussed the business climate were commonplace in the company and, hence, when the actual meetings on relocation were scheduled, little if any suspicion was aroused. As each meeting was held, those in attendance were requested not to discuss the subject with employees in the other groups. It was emphasized that they should hear the story direct from the President - much was to be gained industrial relationswise by this suggestion.

In the management meeting the company's plan was presented and there was a thorough discussion of what steps the company had taken to provide for employees, both those invited to make the move and those who would not be invited, as well as those who for one reason or another would not move if invited. A plan for a generous separation allowance was explained. Generally, based on service, employees would receive from one to three months severance pay for each year of service either if not invited or if they refused to move but remained with the company until the time of relocation. Those who were invited and agreed to move but later backed out would be treated similarly. In addition, those close to retirement or near early retirement (age 55) would be considered on an individual basis and in all cases the employee would receive his full pension entitlement if he was between the ages of 62 and 65. If between 52 and 55 he had the choice of taking an actuarily reduced early retirment or no retirement until age 65. A programme of assistance for those not making the move was also defined. A plan wherein employees' highest skills were identified - the area in which he excelled, regardless of what his job description stated or his experience in the past, was explained. The employee was to be helped to recognise and appreciate these skills and was to be directed to seek out job opportunities that would utilise them. Finally, he was to be encouraged to think in terms of self development against the time when he would have to make another job change. At a latter date, closer to the scheduled date of the move, training groups were held. Employees were divided into groups and given intensive training, including about one hour of counselling. This entailed an analysis of job experience, discussion of hobbies, etc., and further instruction in job-hunting techniques: how to put together résumés, how to get interviews, how to handle them effectively and follow them up, and how to keep progressing in a new job. Employees were coached in the many aspects of job change and by and large through the efforts of the company and those of local, state, and governmental agencies were successful in finding suitable employment in the local area. Many of the management employees who were requested to move with the company did so. Programmes for this group of employees were tailored to their specific needs. Housing in the new location was limited; discussions on the complexities of building one's own home were held. Arrangements with local real estate groups were made to formulate plans for housing developments. Surveys were furnished to these groups depicting family size, house preferences, and the like. Typical housing plans were furnished and employees were given the opportunity to travel to the location specifically for the purpose of selecting sites for their future homes. Financing arrangements for these houses were made easy as the result of contacts with local banks, location, arrangements were made for independent appraisal of the home and a fair market value set, and company financing arrangements worked out on that basis. Few, if any, employees were financially encumbered because they owned homes that were difficult to sell. Arrangements were later made with a local bank in the North to assume the mortgages, and if homes were not sold by the time the employee was to move, the company assumed payment of the mortgage. The company further arranged with a moving company to handle the move of its employees from the North to the South. The company assumed the full cost of not only the move itself, but of transportation for the employee and his family, various legal fees involved in selling and purchasing a home, and even went so far as to reimburse the employee one month's salary for the various incidentals such as auto license fees, cutting of carpets, fitting of drapes, etc.

Many problems were encountered, perhaps the greatest that of adjustment to the new environment. Differences in climate, the temperament and culture of the people, were all regarded with trepidation. Had a sizeable group not been moved, these problem would have been more intense. However, though the location had changed, the work situation had not, and the families of those who had moved from the north became a closeknit group.

While employees were settling into their new environment, the company played a more active part in their lives than it has done before or since. Many employees were living in the country for the first time, with facilities for entertainment, education and shopping much more limited than those they had left. Their accustomed churches,too, were not available. Accordingly, the company sponsored many social functions and family gatherings; clubs were established for card-playing, golf, fishing and other sports, and new neighbours (not employees of the company) were also invited so as to broaden the basis of friendship in the community.

By and large, the periods following relocation were relatively uncomplicated, with employees settling into their new surroundings surprisingly well. Least satisfactory was the adjustment of the young unmarried group, who did not easily enter into the social life of the families, though church groups held social functions specially for their benefit. The company has never really felt that this group was completely satisfied with the move - a problem for which no solution is perceptible.

The whole situation of social adjustment needs constant attention before and immediately after a move. Very little research or experience is evident in this connection, in particular with regard to the extent to which a company should go in providing facilities and advice concerning employees' personal lives. The company at no time felt that a satisfactory answer had been found to this problem.

The United States is well off for civic, governmental and religious agencies that can help in the process of relocation. Most towns and practically all cities have a chapter of the Chamber of Commerce, and in the case in point, the local chapter exerted influence on its members to extend a cordial welcome to the newcomer. The state employers' association was also helpful with regard to information concerning state laws on wages, hours, working conditions, health and welfare and local industrial relations practices. Without this help, industrial life in the initial period would have been much more difficult.

Mr. Liegey dealt with the company's relations with the trade union that represented its employees in the north. The announcement of the company's intention to move caused the union great anxiety. Here, the company found little guidance from precedent; relations with the union were extremely good, while in other cases managements had held unions to blame for high costs, out-of-line wage rates, loose incentive rate systems, costly and numerous grievances, featherbedding, etc., and used these complaints as reasons for relocation. In this case, these reasons were not present, but it was difficult to convince the union that the move was being made purely for economic reasons.

But the union leaders were finally convinced. They sought ways of avoiding the move, but after discussion of the possibility of a long-term contract, different job combinations and tighter incentive rates, the union at length realised that cost savings by these means would be inadequate. They then asked for automatic recognition in the new location. However, management felt strongly that they could initially operate much more effectively without a union. The unions retained close relations with those of their members who moved to the south and the traditions of the northern plant were in effect transferred too. "As much and perhaps more was done initially to make the southern plant a 'union plant without a contract' than had been done in the case of the northern plant".

"House Rules" as opposed to a "Labour Contract" were established. A grievance procedure was enacted, much the same as the labour contract in the northern plant, except for arbitration. Job posting and seniority provisions were translated into a non-union situation. Many if not all of the gains made by the union movement, were tempered and instituted in the southern plant. Mr. Liegery expressed the feeling that at present a union would have a difficult task organising the employees in the plant, for they would find it difficult to gain any of the traditional "extras" of union membership.

Steps were taken in the northern location to re-train and assist in relocating workers soon to be left idle when the plant relocated. Contacts were made through state and local agencies, the international offices of the union, locals of the union in the area and manufacturing companies, to seek employment for employees. Meetings were held with Employment Managers of other companies, facilities for interviewing were made available and in the final analysis, all but a very few employees were relocated when the actual shutdown date arrived.

Those not re-employed were given between one and three months' pay and then terminated. This arrangement was worked out at the last possible moment to avoid the possibility of a costly payout and lack of interest in searching for new employment. In general the management assisted employees more than they had expected. They felt it was a pity that management had decided to move, but the treatment they had given employees showed their recognition of the treatment employees had given management through the years.

The problem of re-adjusting management skills and management employees, Mr. Liegey believed, is far more severe in the United States than the attention given to it would indicate. We can often read or study research on company experience with respect to workers or clerical employees, but seldom realise the tragedy of the management employee between the ages of 45 to 55, who because of strong family ties, often lack of competitive experience and education, is left behind to seek new employment. These are the employees whose relocation cost the company the greatest time and effort.

After a year and a half, a few of those who made the move have returned to the north, for reasons relating to health, family ties or general dissatisfaction with living conditions, but most have settled down and become "native" to the new area.

Discussion

Mr. R. Clark(1) commented on the interest of the study as an example of a case where workpeople are asked to move from a salubrious neighbourhood with many amenities to a place completely contrary to their positions and customs. Problems would not arise when those who were invited to move wished to do so, or when those who were not invited did not want to; but he was interested in the motivations of those who were invited to go and refused, and those who wanted to go but were not invited. He asked what percentage of the company's employees were invited and what standards the company used in deciding who to invite.

Mr. Thomas B. Ward(2) was interested in the current position of the southern plant with regard to unionisation - was it organised and, if not, had attempts been made to do so? He had been unable to get a clear idea of the reasons for the move. He cited the instance of a Canadian mining company who, when the local ore had become exhausted, moved its equipment, labour force and their houses 150 miles into the Tundra.

Senator D.F. Murphy(3) asked if the case typified procedures followed in the United States. In Ireland, it would be regarded as showing a lack of proper joint consultation to arrive at a final decision to move before employees and union had been consulted.

Mr. Aage Tarp(4) noted that the company had made some forecasts of costs involved in the move, knowing that forecasting was very difficult. He asked whether the costs of moving the employees had in the event turned out to be so much higher than anticipated that the company would abstain from a similar move in the future, and whether an attempt had been made to compare the costs of moving the employees with the costs of training local labour? He asked further whether any of the problems encountered had been unforeseen?

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(1) Amalgamated Engineering Union, United Kingdom.

(2) Canadian Labour Congress.

(3) Vice-President, Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

(4) Confederation of Danish Employers.

Mr. C. O'Regan(1) asked whether a correlation had been found between level of income and mobility; did clerical workers prove to be more mobile and did they settle in more quickly than factory workers? Did mobility increase as one ascended the hierarchy of management?

Mr. Jean Mitsos(2) was interested in the incentives for the move. In Greece, the government gave facilities for land acquisition, tax exemption, exemption from import duties on equipment, electric power at lower prices, and port facilities - a policy involving a conflict between economic growth and regional development.

Dr. Hans Reithofer(3) asked what percentage of workers had become unemployed because they had not gone to the South and the percentage who had gone to the South to avoid lengthy unemployment. Might this not have been one of the main reasons for accepting an invitation to move? He also asked if the trade union had been able to participate in the housing scheme in the south and in the creation of clubs and other amenities for workers.

Finally, Mr. Roger Mertens(4) asked if the early retirement of workers had not caused difficulties because pensions payable at age 60 were lower than those they would have had if they had continued working until 65?

In reply, Mr. Liegey said that about 60 per cent of the hourly paid employees in the plant were asked to make the move. The decision by the company was made basically on the basis of craft or skill. In the new area, skill was not readily available, while unskilled labour was no problem.

Of those who were asked to move and refused, some did so because they knew of vacancies in the same occupation in neighbouring plants. Employees were given up to three months to say whether they would make the move if asked. Other reasons for declining to come were family situations, especially with reference to children and school. Parents in the United States are particularly reluctant to move their children once they have entered a secondary school. There was, in addition, a general distrust of the new area: housing was at first not available, there was uncertainty concerning many different aspects of the new place.

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(1) Federated Union of Employers, Ireland.

(2) Greek Industrial Federation.

(3) Austrian Federation of Chambers of Labour.

(4) Legal Adviser, Belgian General Federation of Labour.

The Southern plant was not at present unionised. The South was, of course, not as industrialised as the North and the unions were slow in moving in. It was, in fact, difficult to know what a union could do for the employees in the South, since the company had adopted most of the practices it had lived with in the North.

The reasons for the move were that the company had come out with a new product and needed building space and room for expansion; these were more expensive in the North than in the South. In addition, the company already had a plant in the South, so that the move resulted in a smaller spread of activities. Construction costs, too, were lower in the South, and unskilled manpower was more readily available, while skilled men were ready to move from the North.

The union had not been consulted before a decision had been taken on the move because decisions relating to the location of plant were regarded as being the prerogative of management. Relations with the union had been very good, with only one strike of little more than a day in thirty years. The seniority arrangements had been preserved, the grievance procedure was that taken directly from the union agreement and was one of a few non-union grievance procedure in the South; the wage structure had been preserved, though for unskilled workers the local wage structure applied. Finally, when wage increases were granted in the North and West after negotiations, similar increases were granted in the South.

The costs that the company incurred in moving its employees - direct costs of the move itself, lawyers fees on sales and purchases of houses, etc. - amounted to close to $2,000 per employee. In total, they amounted to many thousands of dollars more than had been anticipated.

Many mistakes had been made in the course of the operation and many unforeseen problems had arisen. The time allowed had been extremely short: eleven months, when two years would have been just about enough. There had been an inability to handle the problem of the older employees who were not invited to move, or who chose to remain with the company until the date of the move and then seek employment elsewhere. If, after all the company's efforts, some of these had still not got other jobs by the date of the move, it had left a sense that efforts on their behalf had not been completed.

It had been found that manual workers were more mobile than clerical workers. Most of the clerical workers employed by the company in the North were female and single and their removal to a rural area would obviously create problems, foremost of which was the availability of young men. More than a quarter of those who went to the South returned to the North, mainly for family reasons.

About 6 per cent of those who did not move had been unemployed at the last count, most of them between the age of 55 and 60. There were a number of both management and other workers who made the move to avoid unemployment or because they were locked into the pension plan. For pension purposes, those aged 62 to 65 were treated as if they were 65. At 60, the pension was substituted by a lump sum payment if the employee so chose.

Reactions of staff of the Alfa Level Company to the transfer of their plant

reported by Dr. Bertil Gardell(1)

In this study, Dr. Gardell describes staff reactions to the transfer of the company's plant from Stockholm to Tumba, 25 Km. from the city. The Stockholm works manufactured separators and machinery for the food industry, including dairying, and for other industrial applications. Its premises dated from the end of the nineteenth century and were too old and inconvenient to allow for an overall rationalisation of production. It was this very largely that accounted for the decision to make the transfer. On the other hand, most of the machinery was up to date and could be used again in the new works. The short distance from Stockholm and the abundance of transport facilities enabled any staff who might wish to do so to commute between their homes in Stockholm and their place of work at Tumba. The work to be done in the new plant was generally the same, though the erection of new buildings enabled it to be better organised.

Preparations for the transfer began at the end of 1958 and transfer of the production units, spread between October 1960 and the end of 1961, was mainly carried out in the first half of 1961. This period was characterised by an influx of orders and a shortage of staff, and the problem for the management was to move the plant in such a way as to minimise staff losses. Every effort was made to make conditions in the new factory as attractive as possible and to keep staff informed of every relevant aspect of the change.

The staff being studied was divisible into three categories:

1. Leavers: those in employment on 1st October, 1959, who left the firm between that date and the date of transfer of the plant.
2. Commuters: those in employment on 1st October, 1959, who on the date of transfer began commuting between their homes and the plant.

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(1) Adviser to the Alfa Laval Company (Sweden).

3. **Immigrants:** those who resettled in Tumba or expressed their intention of doing so as soon as they could find accommodation.

Dr. Gardell and his associates tried to bring out the relative influence on wage earners' attitudes of factors relating to leisure and those relating to place of work. They survey showed that the majority (75 per cent) of the staff preferred to stay with the firm after transfer, though it would have been easy to find similar work elsewhere. The most important of the many reasons for this decision were as follows:

First, the short distance between the old and new plant sites, which made it possible to go to work at Tumba and come back at night without change of residence. This solution was chosen by more than half the staff although it resulted in an average increase of one hour in travelling time to and from work. They were encouraged in this by the firm's decision to refund travelling expenses in the first year. Although the municipal authorities of Tumba arranged that suitable accommodation should be made available, the rise in building costs made it appreciably dearer than that previously occupied by most members of the staff.

Second, as the average age was high (50) and the staff settled in their habits, they would probably have had some difficulty in adapting themselves to a change of employer.

Third, the transfer left working conditions practically unchanged: same machine, same superiors and same colleagues. Wages, too, were unchanged although living costs in Tumba were lower than in Stockholm.

Fourth, the preparatory work done by the social service and the personnel department, in collaboration with staff representatives, probably helped to make the Tumba plant attractive and gave each individual the facts needed to determine what the relocation of the factory would mean to him. Their conception of the change was thus little marked by anxiety and mistrust and the psychological resistance inherent in uncertainty or lack of information thus reduced to a minimum.

A quarter of the workers left the firm during the observation period, but many would have done so at this time regardless of the circumstances. Resignations were carefully examined, however, and it appeared that one-third of those who left did so because of the impending transfer. The majority of those who left were unmarried persons under the age of 30. Foreigners formed a larger proportion than Swedish nationals. There was no discernible difference between operatives and office staff. Of the latter, most of those leaving were in lower-paid posts and were women. Many of the younger ones lived with their parents and therefore spent less on board and lodging than lodgings alone would have cost them at Tumba. For this group, friendships and leisure facilities in Stockholm also seemed to be determining factors. Many of them, not yet having had time to take root in the firm, found it more natural to seek other employment in Stockholm.

The resignation category also included older individuals who did not feel they could get used to commuting and were also unwilling to "settle in the country", where they would have very little opportunity of alternative employment, as well as suffering an increased cost of accommodation.

The commuter group (53 per cent) consisted mainly of middle-aged or elderly male Swedish nationals who had been with the firm for a long time. They had cheap accommodation in Stockholm and there would have been little hope of making an exchange in the opposite direction if they afterwards wanted to return to Stockholm. Thus, the best solution for them was to commute. Far fewer women than men accepted this alternative, however, probably owing to their simultaneous responsibilities as housewives. In the event, the long trips back and forth are an inconvenience and they will no doubt reconsider their decision later, especially when the firm stops paying travelling expenses.

The immigrant group (8 per cent) included a few of the youngest and a few of the oldest, and more office staff than operatives. No difference appeared between married and unmarried staff or between those with large families and childless couples. Prime incentives seemed to be the opportunity of getting better accommodation, plus the desire to avoid travel. Those who had lived in the country in their childhood and no more than ten years in Stockholm also appear to have accepted the idea more readily.

The fact that so few people settled in Tumba does not mean that only a few of the firm's employees now live there: a large number lived there before 1st October, 1959, and were therefore excluded from the survey. Further, staff engaged during the survey who were seeking accommodation, were housed near the new plant. Thus at the end of 1961, 474 members (58 per cent) of the staff lived in Tumba, compared with 18 per cent in October 1959.

Psychological model

Dr. Gardell adapted certain ideas of Floyd C. Mann(1) to encompass reactions to geographical change. A diagram showing human reactions in this type of situation was used as a basis for the exercise. This was interpreted as follows:

The response of an individual to a decision to change is directly related to his own picture of the relevant aspects the change may have for him and the assessment he makes of these. This reaction depends on how reliably he thinks he can determine what the change will bring about from the point of view of his own advantage. His certainty is conditioned partly by the data available regarding the change, by the opportunities he has of influencing the change, and by his confidence in the management of the firm. These factors are themselves dependent on the amount of practical information supplied to him, on labour/management relations, on the atmosphere in the firm, and finally on any past experience which he may have gained of similar situations. The more practical and to the point the information received, the less reason is there to be anxious about the consequences of the change. The better the relations between staff and management, the greater the hope of influenceing the way in which the change will be carried out, and hence the less the anxiety and fear inspired by the change.

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(1) Floyd C. Mann: "Managing Major Changes in Organisations", Foundation for Research on Human Behaviour, Ann Arbor, Mich., U.S.S. 1961, page 69.

What is called "search behaviour" is directly dependent on the amount of certainty felt in regard to what the change holds in store. The less authoritative information the individual has on the aspects that concern him, the more he is inclined to obtain it in devious ways. The need for practical and accurate information is all the greater where relations between staff and management are poor and where there is mistrust of the management responsible for preparing the change. The existence of negative experiences acquired in similar cases strengthens the need to be informed. The relation between the need for information and confidence is important, since firms whose staff relations are poor are often the very ones who tend to underestimate the importance of information.

Informal communication also aims at checking the accuracy of the idea formed of the change. The danger arising from a lack of firm information can readily be seen, for then individuals are reduced to relying on rumours current amongst equally uninformed persons with largely similar standards of judgment. The risk of psychological resistance founded on inaccuracies is then enormously increased. This makes it even harder, at the preparatory stage, to predict with any certainty what the final behaviour of those concerned will be.

It is probable that everyone affected will verify, point by point, the effects the proposed changes will have on him, and then compare the idea he has formed of the future situation with his present position. By so balancing the pros and cons he manages to adopt a final attitude. However exemplary the way of conveying information, nothing can replace a first-hand knowledge and actual experience of the matter. The original attitude determined by this information must never be regarded as absolutely permanent, although it may last long enough to enable it to be measured to some extent. Yet, the more concrete and relevant the data supplied as to the effects of the change, the greater the chance that the original attitude will be maintained.

Aside from the foregoing factors, the final behaviour of the individual depends also on his special conditions of existence, his capabilities, and the current state of the labour market. Thus, a given attitude towards the change which in one case would produce many departures may, in a period of unemployment, result in none and find expression in complaints and the like. Effective behaviour may thus assume different forms according to the specific conditions of each individual, and as determined by variations in the economic situation and the employment opportunities.

Applying the model

A Working Party, representing all the interests involved, was established and through it all social and administrative questions closely affecting wage-earners were clarified. The decision to make the transfer and the organisation of the new plant were regarded as the prerogative of management.

Through the Working Party, it was possible to discover the questions on which the staff required definite information; these, together with the information that management wished to communicate, were the subject of a vast amount of joint research. The questions concerned (a) working conditions in the new plant; (b) new conditions of employment and (c) living conditions in the new locality. In the first half of 1959, much work was done on clarification and discussion, the results of which were communicated to the staff as and when they were obtained, through such conventional information media as the Works Council, trade unions and the company news sheet.

In addition, an exhibition was mounted, showing a model of the new plant, with each machine represented on a scale large enough to give everyone a clear idea of working conditions. Illustrated panels gave detailed information relating to the firm, the new locality and its neighbourhood. Staff and families were invited to the exhibition, a guide provided, and officials from Tumba informed visitors about municipal services. A booklet was given to each member of the staff summarising information about the new plant, its locality and means of communication with Stockholm, and a number of visits to the new plant were organised. On the visits, municipal representatives were also present to give information on housing and municipal services.

After about nine months of this work, it was considered that the staff was sufficiently well informed to reach a decision and that their initial attitude could be assessed by means of standardised individual interviews. These were held with 414 persons in the autumn of 1959.

The actual behaviour of the staff at the time of the transfer at the end of 1961 afterwards served as a criterion for assessing the initial attitude. Of those who in 1959 said they would leave, 65 per cent did so; 81 per cent of those who said they would commute carried out this intention and 63 per cent of those who said they would move did so. On average, 75 per cent confirmed the attitude adopted in 1959. This proportion rises to 82 per cent if only those who gave a categorical reply are taken into account.

Dr. Gardell was satisfied that the results confirmed the accuracy of the theoretical premises and the validity of the relatively extensive and costly application that was given them. Though they did not prove the accuracy of the model, they seemed of sufficient value to warrant its testing under other conditions.

The Role of the Trade Unions in connection with Geographical and Occupational Mobility

reported by Pierre Jeanne(1)

Trade unionists in general take a critical view of manpower mobility, especially in its geographical aspects. Pierre Jeanne quoted from a statement by R. Caillot(2) at a national conference on employment organised by the Conféderation Francaise des Travailleurs Chrétiens in May 1963: while economic and technical development required a certain mobility of manpower, development would in many respects become the reverse of true development if it damaged traditional human values or established false values from a human point of view. Because these pernicious effects were not always immediate, some people denied that they existed. Economic growth should help men and families to take root (though this did not mean they should be immovable) rather than uproot them.

In the study(3) published by the European Coal and Steel Community in 1956, the views of the trade union internationals(4) were expressed as follows:

Migration is not the best method of combatting unemployment, but, where there is no other solution, movement must be assisted and made freely and with full knowledge of the reasons. Trade unions are opposed to the abandonment of certain areas.

Daily or weekly movements are preferable to migration. They avoid the difficulties arising from lack of accommodation and the psychological and social difficulties of adaptation (especially important in countries where there are differences of language or religion).

Vocational training is needed to enable workers to copy with new techniques and changing economic structure.

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(1) Secretary of the Metal Workers' Federation (C.F.T.C.)

(2) Of "Economie et Humanisme".

(3) "Obstacles to the Mobility of Workers and Social Problems of Adaptation".

(4) The International Federation of Christian Trade Unions and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

In informing, preparing and adapting workers, the association of trade unions is of particular importance.

Trade unions maintained that economic programmes or plans must be democratic, their prime aim to be the service of man. In particular, while there was a need for manpower to be mobile, this mobility should be utilised only after movements of capital or structural adaptations had been made or seriously considered.

Daily and weekly movement

There has been a particularly large increase in the daily and weekly movement of workers between home and work-place. The enquiry carried out in 1960-61 by the National Committee for Reform of Working Hours and Leisure (C.N.A.T.) showed that out of 3.5 million workers in the Paris area, some 2.3 million were obliged to travel for more than one hour; 64 per cent travelled more than 6 km. each day and 8 per cent more than 40 km.

The enquiry into transport workers in the Sambre Valley(1) shows that firms in that area only find on the average 41 per cent of their manpower on the spot. Each morning 4,000 workers, or 43.5 per cent of its manpower, come in to Jeumont from outside the valley. 2,000 of these workers cross the frontier.

This tendency has been increased in the provinces by the growing custom of collecting the employees of large undertakings by bus. 4,000 country dwellers hold weekly season tickets to go to work at Nancy (it should incidentally be noted that the waiting room at Nancy Station has space for only 30). The difficulties are often accentuated by shift working (two or three shifts) and fatigue due to the rate of work.

Speaking of this kind of movement, some sociologists(2) refer to "a third environment in daily life which is tending to absorb a large part of the workers' time". It may be that we do not sufficiently emphasize the serious repercussions that this has on the social and family life of workers and on the resulting lack of interest in civic responsibilities. Weekly movements are less important, but their effect is also felt.

R. Reynaud writes:

> "Adaptation of workers, helped by redundancy pay, resettlement assistance, transport and vocational training, gives on the whole satisfactory results, the effectiveness of which is well shown by the number of new jobs that have been filled comparatively quickly"(3).

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(1) Document of Sambre Valley Improvement Committee.

(2) P.H. Chombart de Lauwe and J. Jenny: "Sociologie du travail".

(3) R. Reynaud: "National Policy of Regional Development and Conversion", E.C.S.C., 1961.

It may be noted that in Sweden, mobility is encouraged by the payment of travel and transfer grants:

- A leaving grant for workers taking up a new job in a district other than their home district;
- Installation allowances for workers leaving districts where employment is especially severe;
- Family allowances for unemployed workers who, leaving a district affected by unemployment, cannot find accommodation for their families in their new place of residence.

The special effort made in the matter of housing must also be mentioned.

The total of the various allowances may amount to from 2 to 4 months' wages. The person concerned may also have his new rent paid for him for several months.

In most cases, however, workers have had to leave their area without any information or preparation, because of reduced working hours, lay off or serious threats to the firms employing them.

The majority of workers move not to obtain promotion but merely to live.

There is a big exodus from certain départements:

A recent enquiry(1) shows that in the Vosges département of France one person in seven has changed domicile in five years and that two out of three people leaving were below 30 years of age.

It is interesting to note that an enquiry made last year showed that almost all of the 220 young people who left a town in the Vosges to find work said that they would willingly return there if offered interesting work.

The enquiry also shows that people do not always adapt themselves satisfactorily to different surroundings and that the social and human balance of areas may be upset by too much emigration.

Trade union attitudes and action

As the I.F.C.T.U. and I.C.F.T.U. stated during the E.C.S.C. enquiry, the claims and activities of the trade union organisations are directed to ensuring that in the first place industries move to the workers.

The trade unions have reacted particularly strongly against the economic argument advanced by industrialists and economists that industries would be penalised if they settled in underdeveloped areas; this, as is emphasized by S.H. Livine(2), is not the case:

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(1) Etudes et Documents, Economic and Social Research Centre, 14, rue St. Benoit, Paris 6.

(2) S.H. Livine:"National Policies" - a British official report.

"In general, firms have found that the inconvenience resulting from higher transport costs, distance from market outlets, vocational training problems, separation from the management, etc., has in practice turned out to be less serious than was expected, while the advantages, particularly that of availability of labour, are greater..."

"... On the whole it could not be said that, once a firm was established in a development area, its operations were less profitable than elsewhere."

Action is being taken both in the Committees of the Plan and the Economic Council, on which the trade unions are represented, at the regional level in the regional expansion committees, and locally by representations and, if necessary, demonstrations.

The question of training and adaptation of manpower is also being taken up with the manpower and employment Committees, at both national and regional levels.

Obstacles to the mobility of manpower

There are various kinds of obstacles:

- Those resulting from the fact that a worker is attached to his district, has his house, family, friends and communal life there, has difficulty in finding accommodation elsewhere, and also lacks the basic culture and universal fundamental training which would enable him to adapt himself;
- Those arising from what P. Naville(1) calls "professionalisation", that is the worker's right to a precisely defined status, extending to the greatest possible number of workers and guaranteed in varying degrees by law, collective agreements and firm contracts.

The wage, the job description that many managements tend to make peculiar to their own firm, allowances, in particular for seniority, firms' welfare schemes, and a number of other special advantages, all tend to attach the worker to "his" firm, which guarantees him employment and the possibility of advancement in his job.

There are also obstacles of another kind, concerned with the place given to the trade unions, about which we should not delude ourselves as certain people willingly do.

While trade unionism can make itself heard in certain organisations or committees, it does not necessarily follow that it really influences the decisions taken at the level of financial or industrial groups or that of State technicians.

Thus, concerning trade union participation in the Committees of the French Plan, we must remember that for the IIIrd Plan there were

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(1) "L'emploi, le métier, la profession", par P. Naville "Sociologie du Travail".

82 trade unionists, 25 of whom were agricultural unionists, among the 615 members of the 19 committees, compared with 206 heads of undertakings, 113 civil servants, etc.

Recommendations for policy

Only controlled and harmonious growth of the economy can reconcile the maximum freedom of the individual with the requirements of the public interest.

There should clearly be such controlled and harmonious growth at the national level, but it should also increasingly be found in the bigger regional units. This is the essential problem of regional economies, both national and international.

It is therefore not only desirable but necessary that an active, progressive joint European social policy be introduced, as the big international workers' organisations I.C.F.T.U. and I.F.C.T.U. are demanding.

In 1959 the European regional organisation of free trade unions stated in a motion:

> "The free trade unions declare themselves in favour of mobility of manpower, which must however be achieved in a framework of carefully designed programmes and measures ..... Migrations cannot effectively replace a long-term policy of full employment and structural stability, either for individual countries or for Europe as a whole."

In 1962 the I.F.C.T.U. stated at its European Conference in Rome:

> "Overall planning of the economic development of the Community by the setting up of a European planning office .... the institution of a European employment policy, the application of common principles of vocational training, and the establishment of freedom of movement of workers under the best possible conditions... harmonisation of the advance in real wages and welfare benefits.."

Harmonisation of working hours, wages and conditions of work, a joint policy for vocational training, these are the main aims of the trade unions both in the E.E.C. and the O.E.C.D.; they could be given effect in joint European conventions.

..... Throughout the studies made on employment questions(1) it is evident that there is no valid solution other than an overall policy carried out by all those concerned with the problem.

Some mobility of manpower, both vocational and geographical, is an inevitable consequence of technical progress and is also necessary to economic growth. For trade unions representing unskilled workers, however, it is only defensible or possible if it respects and develops human values; otherwise, it leads to the reverse of true development. It is only worth while or possible if such problems as housing, education, transport and collective equipment, vocational training and adaptation, public health and social education centres, are studied and resolved. Only democratic planning can meet the economic requirements of the development of industrial society and the spiritual needs of a democratic society.

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(1) E.C.S.C. regional employment studies. Population and internal migration in Lorraine - regional conference of 8th November, 1961, organised by the Regional Committee of the Lorraine Basin. Studies by the Committee for the Development of the Sambre Valley. "The Northern Region", by R. Gendarme, etc.

Conclusions

Mobility of manpower may lead to human advancement and economic development, on the conditions mentioned above. Unless these conditions are met, there is a risk that a number of workers will feel they are "displaced" or "refugees", which is bound to have serious consequences from the social point of view.

To solve the problem of mobility of manpower harmoniously, imagination must be shown at all levels and an overall policy of development must be prepared and applied. A policy of co-operation must be introduced at all levels as there is no one who is not directly affected by this problem; the trade union organisations must play a full part in it. Then, development and prosperity will really serve to safeguard individual liberties and increase general welfare.

The Role of Employers' Organisations in connection with Geographical and Occupational Mobility

reported by Dr. Walter Schlotfeldt(1)

The more important part of the discussion at the Seminar concerned workers affected by structural and frictional changes, but it is important not to overlook the fact that there are workers who for personal reasons change or want to change their jobs or occupations and that these changes form the great part of normal day to day movements from one enterprise to another and from one occupation to another.

In its negative aspects, there may be too high a level of mobility, which will then impede rather than promote the general objectives of economic and social policy. Considerable costs are involved for an individual enterprise (and for society as a whole) when a great number of workers constantly change their jobs, for each new employee requires a certain period of introduction, job training and adaptation before he can completely fulfil his tasks.

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(1) Deputy Head of Division, Confederation of German Employers' Organisations (B.D.A.).

However, if an economy is not to stagnate there must be technological and economic change, which in turn means a change in the structure of the work force. If this latter change is to take place with as little friction and hardship as possible, workers must have the ability and opportunity to adapt themselves to the new situation. Then it must be taken into account that the movement that finally takes place on the geographical and occupational level does not always correspond to the requirements of the economic situation as a whole. In a free market society, negative effects of mobility are unavoidable, though it should be the objective of an active manpower policy to avoid, as far as possible, any negative or detrimental effects of mobility.

Dr. Schlotfeldt believed it was important, when considering mobility, to distinguish between an economy enjoying full employment and one with problems of unemployment. For an individual employer, it does not make any difference whether he cannot find a new worker because of full employment or because of the lack of sufficient workers qualified for the job. Similarly, it is not significant to a worker whether he cannot find a new job because there is wide-spread unemployment or because his qualifications are not required.

However, a certain distinction must be made with regard to redundant or unemployed workers. In Germany, there has been no difficulty in re-employing those workers laid off in declining branches of industry. Workers in the same situation in countries with considerable unemployment could not easily be placed in new jobs. But it is doubtful whether an increase in mobility is the key to the problem in countries suffering from unemployment. If the unemployment is caused by the economic conditions of that country, it would seem necessary first to improve the business situation. Of course, it makes economic development easier if industry can depend on a supply of qualified manpower, as the experience of Germany in the earlier fifties has shown. Thus measures to improve the business situation and measures to improve mobility should be undertaken simultaneously. On the other hand, it does contribute to the mitigation of unemployment of workers who are affected by structural changes if they possess a high degree of mobility.

The role of employers and their organisations in assuring this mobility depends, however, to a great extent on the part they play within the framework and the institutions of the manpower policy of the individual country.

It is probably very difficult to determine ex ante when a worker may be considered geographically mobile. The degree of mobility generally depends upon several factors, such as age, family status, social relations, cultural and educational background, material ties (house, land), expectations and possibilities at his new place of work etc. Other reports and case studies may show that, e.g. one worker is not willing to move into a certain area where there are better employment opportunities, whilst he would go to an area where he cannot be employed.

These complex social, cultural and psychological factors seems to play an important role in geographical mobility and particular emphasis should be devoted to them before undertaking specific measures.

To deal more specifically with the attitude of employers towards geographical mobility, one has to accept that there are two standpoints involved. An employer in an area with a relatively large surplus of manpower will resent all measures that are liable to withdraw the qualified manpower from the area. On the other hand, an employer in an area with a relative shortage of manpower will favour all governmental and private measures that will incite workers to move into his district.

From the point of view of an overall economic policy it may be advisable to induce migration. But one has to acknowledge the two different attitudes of employers and that this does not generally facilitate the role of employers' organisations. This, of course, does not mean that employers' organisations have to be inactive or that they cannot play any part in geographical mobility.

The role employers can play depends to a great extent on the national economic and social conditions and the objectives of national policy. To illustrate this, one has to take a situation where there is a disparity of employment in different regions of a country.In this case, two different policies may be applied:

(a) To move the worker to the job and to establish the necessary methods for doing so;

(b) To move the job to the worker and to establish favourable conditions for investment in the locality.

Some countries seem to favour the one alternative over the other. In fact, each alternative has its own merits, though in the long run the second may be preferable. However, this requires a very careful study of the reasons for unemployment and of the possibilities of economic development in the area. This is practicable, therefore, not so much for short term as for long-term policy, for careful programming is necessary to avoid the loss of investments. It must be borne in mind that basic industries are dependent on the location of raw materials, while services are dependent upon the demands of other producers and consumers. Thus, as a rule, only manufacturing industries can be transferred to undeveloped areas. An employer will move a plant, however, only if he can be sure that the basic conditions for operating it are available and that there is a market in the area. The necessary infra-structure, which includes the supply of qualified manpower as well as the presence of transport and other facilities, involves such high investment that it cannot be borne by one or even a group of employers.

In cases where redevelopment of an area is not feasible or does not result in the full absorption of available manpower, the only alternative is to move the workers to the jobs. Such a policy has the added advantage that it is applicable on a short term basis and can more quickly relieve the area of its unemployment problem.

In the German Federal Republic immediately after the war, the only possibility of finding employment for workers, especially the large number of refugees, was to move them into the industrial centres. Nowadays, the opposite would be preferred, since the densely populated areas of intensive industrialisation create considerable problems of their own.

Before increasing the geographical mobility of workers, whether on a short term basis or as a last resort, the following conditions should prevail:

(a) The general trend of business must be favourable;

(b) There must be vacancies in the area to which the workers are emigrating, for there is little point in transferring unemployment from one area to another.

(c) The employer concerned must be willing and in a position to employ the migrating workers. This will depend to some extent on his business expectations, e.g. whether he has made a decision to expand. It also depends on whether the workers have the requisite qualifications and, if not, whether the employer can or is willing to retrain them.

(d) A final prerequisite is that housing accommodation is available in the receiving area.

When considering the various conditions, one must admit that it is somewhat outside the competence and scope of employers to achieve favourable business conditions. With regard to the other requirements, it would be wrong to expect employers to fulfil them. A large enterprise may dispose of sufficient resources to take care even of the housing requirements of migrant workers, but this is beyond the capacity of most employers. It should not be forgotten that, in a free enterprise economy, the employer is expected to keep his enterprise as competitive as possible and thus it is largely the responsibility of the community as a whole to provide incentives both to the employers and to the workers who are to move.

However, it is important to stress that unilateral government activities run the risk of failure. It is necessary for the authorities to receive and seek the co-operation and advice of employers and their organisations. This can be done - and is done in quite a number of countries - by inviting employers to participate in the preparation, execution or direction of certain measures to promote geographical mobility, for example, as in Germany, by participation in the labour market institutions that are active in this field. In this way it may be possible to receive active assistance from an employer or from groups of employers in specific projects: the establishment of training centres, housing projects, etc.

Sometimes employers are reluctant to employ migrant workers, and employers' organisations can play an important role in removing sociological or psychological prejudices in their members. They can also assist in finding rules and practices to facilitate the social and cultural adaptation of the workers concerned.

Discussion

Mr. C. O'Regan(1) said that in Ireland they had at one time tried to revive declining communities by placing an industry amongst them, but now they were doing some new thinking and tended to favour community development. The country had been developing rapidly in recent years, with new industries, and incentives provided by the government, but they had not yet reached a conclusion as to where to place these industries.

The attempt to preserve communities (some of them relatively small) had failed because they did not provide the sort of social life that would attract people and prevent them moving out. Current thought was occupied with development centres, in terms of which industrial growth would be concentrated in four or five areas. This was a long-term process and it would be some time before the requisite number of workers was absorbed.

Dr. Routh(2) said that in the idea of development centres there might be a reconciliation of employers' and trade union views. There were arguments for and against moving men or moving jobs, but we were now confronted by a wider prospect: the need to plan whole new cities. In the United Kingdom, six new towns had been established since the war, with populations now approaching 100,000. In future, it was probable that a freer choice would be offered, both as to where to live and where to establish industries. An ideal place can be chosen, attractive both to workers and to employers, and in this way the problem would be resolved.

Mr. Gunnar Lindstrom(3) said that in Sweden all parties were in favour of a high degree of mobility. The basic ideas on which Swedish policy had been founded were relevant to the topics covered by Mr. Jeanne and Dr. Schlotfeldt.

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(1) Secretary, Federated Union of Employers, Dublin.

(2) University of Sussex.

(3) Swedish Employers' Confederation.

Mobility did not necessarily imply that some districts have to be abandoned. It might require concentration on certain parts of the districts, recognising that in order to live and be prosperous a town required a certain minimum population and must be able to maintain schools, hospitals and other social institutions.

It was in the common interest to use mobility in such a way as to arrive at the best economic result for society as a whole, giving due consideration to the human aspects of the problem. Mobility of manpower was not an interest peculiar to employers, but was one way of optimising the use of a country's resources.

An important part of the problem, as Dr. Schlotfeldt had indicated, was that policy should be based on considerations that would make individual firms economically sound. It was a mistake to start firms based on subsidies and with a most uncertain economic future.

Mr. Jeanne did not think it possible to solve the relevant problems within the framework of "free enterprise", which was a concept reminiscent of the time of liberal capitalism. Decisions regarding matters like the location of towns should be taken as a result of the joint enterprise of employers, the state and the trade unions. Mobility was a means and not an end in itself and, wherever possible, jobs should be taken to the men who needed them.

Dr. Schlotfeldt replied that it was impossible to establish general rules. It was only certain classes of industry that were capable of being taken to the workers. Even here, certain restraints operated: it was not possible to establish textile industries in a labour surplus area if there were already textile industries there. It was better, then, to locate a new factory where the market was most favourable. Though, in the long run, it might be better to move industry to the workers, there were great difficulties in doing so and the arguments for and against each line of action should be carefully considered.

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

A man's occupation defines the sort of work he does, in contradistinction to where he does it. Thus a man may go from one employer, one industry and one place to another without changing his occupation or he may change his occupation while remaining with the same employer. For example, a porter may be employed by a government department, factory, shop or railway station; he may be geographically or industrially mobile but occupationally immobile. Or he may be promoted to become a storeman, booking-clerk or machinist, an occupational shift that may or may not involve a change of employer, industry or locality.

Some occupations are wedded to particular industries and some industries to particular localities; other occupations are required by many or all industries. The employment of fishermen is more or less confined to the fishing industry and the major part of their activity to the sea; on the other hand, book-keepers are employed in every industry and in all but the very smallest establishments.

The production of man's worldly goods is subject to continuous change: new products are being added to the list, old products falling out of use; whole industries advancing or declining and, if they are regionally concentrated, changing the fortunes of towns or provinces; new techniques are calling forth new skills and dispensing with old ones.

Maximum social disruption results from the decline of regionally-concentrated industries, for this requires a double-adaptation: an exodus from the region combined, in many cases, with a need to acquire new skills. Declines in shipbuilding, textile manufacture and coal mining have involved severe problems because of the coincidence of these features(1). An additional dimension is involved in the reduction of the agricultural labour force that seems to have become a permanent feature of industrially-advanced countries: a change from rural to urban life is added to all the others.

Mr. Claude Vimont(2) presented to the seminar a report on "Occupational Mobility of Manpower". This is reproduced as Appendix 2 to the present volume. He points out that changes in the pattern of employment are due not only to actual switches from one sector or one occupation to another but also to the arrival of a new generation on the labour market. We saw earlier that the young worker is more mobile geographically than the old and inferred that this was connected with the fact that it is in the earlier part of their career that people got married and set up their own homes. Similarly, it is at the outset of their career that people are most adaptable to the occupational demands of industry, being unencumbered with obsolete skills. But even here, as Cairnes stressed nearly a hundred years ago(3), there are formidable obstacles to occupational mobility, with the range of choice of the children severely limited by their parent's occupational class. Occupational mobility and social stratification have been the major pre-occupation of sociology for many years.

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(1) Two of the case studies that follow are concerned with the textile industry, while the European Iron and Steel Community has been much engaged by this problem.

(2) Deputy Director, National Institute of Demographic Studies, Paris.

(3) "Some Leading Principles of Political Economy."

With the increasing need for skilled manpower, serious attention is being given to the disabilities of the children of manual workers in the educational system(1).

Table 6 of Appendix 2 shows that in the United States in 1961 about a third of job-changers left their jobs in order to improve their status. The percentage is highest for sales workers, in the case of males more than half of these who left their jobs having done so to raise their status. In the case of craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers, only 28.3 per cent of those who left did so to improve their status - understandable in the case of those who had invested so much effort in learning their trade. It is disquieting to note that only 24 per cent of labourers (excluding farm and mine) left for improved status, but on the other hand the percentage of job changes was very high for this group: 699,000 made 1,521,000 job changes, of which 365,000 were for improved status. This indicates improvements in status for nearly 9 per cent of the 4,275,000 male labourers.

Of course, the concepts employed are very vague: a search for improved status might be the motive for a job-change, but might not be achieved or sustained, while others might suffer a reduction of status when changing jobs. Also, the advances are generally very restricted in scope: from labourer to semi-skilled operative or filing-clerk to book-keeper. The professional occupations are notoriously difficult to enter unless the necessary educational qualifications have been obtained early in life, and someone has remarked that it is easier for a labourer to become managing-director than for him to gain promotion to the status of craftsman.

Tables 9, 10 and 11 of Appendix 2 convey information of a different nature, showing how industrial and occupational distribution have changed over a considerable period or (Table II) how it is anticipated that it will have changed in France by 1970, in comparison with 1960.

In Great Britain, the number of higher professional workers (lawyers, professional engineers, scientists, doctors, etc.) may still seem insignificant in 1951: under 2 per cent of the occupied population, but it had almost doubled as a proportion of the occupied population and had more than doubled in absolute size since 1911.The lower categories of professional workers, (teachers, nurses, draughtsmen, physiotherapists, etc.) also doubled in absolute numbers during this period and numbered over a million in 1951 out of a total working force of 22½ million. But the greatest increase was in the number of clerical workers - from under 900,000 in 1911 to nearly 2½ million in 1951. These increases were at the expense of manual workers, who declined from 79 per cent of the work force in 1911 to 70 per cent in 1951.

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(1) Two official reports emphasizing this were published in the United Kingdom in 1962: "Higher Education", Report of the Committee appointed by the Prime Minister under the chairmanship of Lord Robbins, 1961-63, London, H.M.S.O. 1963. "Half our Future", Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), (The Newsom Report), London, H.M.S.O. 1963.

A very similar degree of change took place in the United States. White-collar workers (this includes sales workers in American terminology) increased from 21.3 per cent of the economically active civilian population in 1910 to 42.3 per cent in 1960. But here, blue-collar workers also increased in proportion, though by a negligible amount (from 38.2 to 39.6 per cent) and it was farm workers whose numbers and proportion were drastically reduced - from 30.9 per cent in 1910 to 6.3 per cent in 1960(1).

For France, the census reports for 1954 and 1962 show the following changes in distribution(2).

Percentage distribution of active employed population:

	1954	1962
Primary sector	27.4	20.5
Secondary sector	36.3	38.6
Tertiary sector	36.3	40.9
	100	100

In this period, nearly 1,300,000 workers left agriculture, while 457,000 entered the secondary sector and nearly 850,000 the tertiary sector.

There were, besides, considerable changes in the secondary sector itself: textiles lost over 100,000 workers, while chemicals gained 50,000 and the electrical and mechanical engineering industries gained 325,000.

By 1970, it is estimated that professional, technical and kindred occupations will embrace over 13 per cent of the labour force and clerical and kindred occupations 16 per cent(compared with 1960 percentages in the United States of 11.4 and 15 respectively)(3).

Mr. Vimont notes that the unskilled are the most difficult workers for whom to find jobs and that a rising level of education is an essential concommitant to rapid industrial expansion. A worker can be easily adapted to different work if he has some knowledge of mathematics and is able to express himself satisfactorily both orally and in writing. If this minimum level is not attained, a worker awaiting re-adaptation cannot follow a vocational training course unless he is first given a course of general education. It is very often at this point that psychological difficulties arise which become an obstacle to mobility.

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(1) See "Manpower Report of the President", transmitted to Congress March 1963, Table G-5, page 201.

(2) Appendix 2, page (147).

(3) Appendix 2, Table 11.

Employment forecasts may be an aid in the adjustment of the educational curriculum to changing occupational needs. In France, employment forecasts have been made since 1952 as each of the Modernisation and Equipment Plans have been prepared. In the United States, employment forecasts for 1970 have been published in the President's Manpower Reports to Congress.

Mr. Vimont recommends the development of this work:

1. Full statistics of the present employment situation and its trends in past years must be collected.
2. Trade associations and employers must co-operate in preparing employment forecasts. These can only be compiled if firms knowing what technical changes are likely to arise in their plant supply information on the effects of such innovations on employment.
3. All the data supplied by industry must be seen against the general background of prospective developments in the country's economy and its different branches in order to get a complete picture of employment prospects. Assumptions as to production prospects must be made at national level to enable an overall survey of consumer demand to be carried out. The act of merely taking stock of prospects in individual industries will not produce an accurate picture of demand trends, as each firm is always hoping to secure a bigger part of the market.

Specific developments to facilitate mobility should include the further development of employment services, which should not only find jobs for the unemployed, but channel workers into more effective unemployment(1). This is being recognised, too, in the establishment of supplementary vocational training centres, examples of which may be seen in France, the United States and the United Kingdom.

Mr. Vimont concludes:

The following appear to be the main points for study:

1. Statistics of manpower mobility must be compiled in countries which have none. Documentation of this kind is relatively scarce at the moment.
2. Research on the factors affecting mobility is essential to determine, for example, the influence of wage rates and the psychological aspects of mobility.
3. Further research should be put in hand to assess the value of aids to mobility. Is the transfer of pension rights effective? What is the value of the private vocational training schemes organised by firms to fit skilled workers overtaken by technical change for a new job?

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(1) This idea is developed in Appendix 2, pages (147) to (177).

4. Finally, a sound mobility policy can be developed only if detailed employment forecasts are compiled beforehand.

These are the main directions in which research on mobility should proceed.

Discussion

The Chairman, Mr. Pietro Merli-Brandini(1), asked whether the quantitative forecasts made in the French plans had been achieved and what the effect of collective bargaining had been on mobility. In Italy, there was provision for a retiring indemnity, payable when a worker was dismissed and varying with his seniority. This gave him time to re-adjust and find other employment. Another provision present in Italy was for a set procedure that must be followed in collective dismissal (that is, of more than one worker).

Mr. Pierre Jeanne(2) said that skill qualifications had changed during the past twenty or thirty years, an increasing number of people now having a narrow skill instead of a general one. At the same time, as Mr. Vimont had stressed, they might now have to perform two or three occupational re-adjustments in their working life.

Mr. Lester S. Zerfoss(3) emphasized the need to have more vocational guidance and to keep young people in school longer to increase their vocational skills. In the United States, the experience of retraining adults had been disappointing. The advance of automation was producing jobs of higher and higher skill and thus pushing against the curve of human ability. This was increasing the number of young people who were both unemployed and unemployable. In the United States textile industry, it was known that if the plans for automation were to be implemented in the next five years, they would throw out of employment between 33 per cent and 35 per cent of textile workers. The best retraining techniques available in the United States would not make these people employable again in the new installations. The psychological problem was how to get people with an intelligence quotient of 80 or less to learn and to want to learn: the teaching skills were not available. The more the unemployed were trained and retrained, the more this hard core would be precipitated out.

Mr. Jean Mitsos(4) asked for information about measures taken in

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(1) Head of Research Department, Italian Confederation of Workers' Unions.

(2) Secretary, Metalworkers' Federation, Paris.

(3) Director of Management Services, American Enka Corporation.

(4) Greek Industrial Federation.

France to ensure the occupational mobility and promotion of workers without change of employer, or to allow a worker to go to a university.

Mr. R. Clark(1) suggested that the United Kingdom was behind many other countries in occupational mobility; indeed, he encouraged other delegates to the view that in their countries they were already half way to solving the problem. But in the United Kingdom, with its long history of industrialisation, trade unions had been formed in the early days on an occupational base. In the engineering industry, for instance, there were forty different unions catering for forty different occupations and all jealously guarding those occupations. It was easy to move from one industry to another, while remaining in the same occupation, but difficult to move between occupations, even in the same industry. In Sweden, with industrial unions, these difficulties were not encountered. While occupational mobility was desirable, indeed inevitable, it had not yet been accepted by British trade unions.

The Industrial Training Bill, then before Parliament, represented a big advance. Five years before, a committee had been set up by employers and trade unionists to discuss training in industry. But it had now been realised that, without government participation, the problem could not be solved. The Bill provided for boards to be set up for various industries that would be able to enforce certain standards.

Mr. Solomon Barkin remarked that two contradictory views were frequently encountered. One was that industry was becoming more sophisticated, with rising requirements from its workers, who thus required more education (though education was not always distinguished from training). Another view was that the need for skill was greatly exaggerated and that it required little effort or time to learn jobs in modern industry. To decide the issue it was important to determine the nature of the modern job: did it require more training and education or less, or were these words possibly inadequate to describe the sort of preparation that was required?

Mr. Gunnar Lindstrom(2) described the Swedish programme for training adults whose aim (now more or less achieved) was to retrain 1 per cent of the labour force every year. There were currently about 800 courses in progress, financed mainly from the budget and arranged by the public authorities. These were often done in close co-operation with firms and, especially in periods of recession, sometimes took place within the firm, with teachers drawn from the firm itself. Workers received an allowance of about 400 French francs a month during retraining, with special allowances if there were housing difficulties. He had no solution to the American problem, but stressed that a good general education was of great importance when it came to retraining.

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(1) British Trades Union Congress.

(2) Swedish Employers' Confederation.

Dr. Hans Reithofer(1) described how seasonal unemployment led to increased mobility in Austria. Every year, workers were drawn to occupations in hotels and restaurants, then, at the end of the season, took other jobs and might never return to the seasonal jobs.

The Chairman commented that in Italy an attempt was made to solve this problem by training workers in seasonal occupations to take other jobs, but within the same industry. In the tourist industry, they might then alternate between summer resorts and winter resorts, and acquire and continue to exercise the appropriate skills.

Mr. Aage Tarp(2) said that Danish trade unions had a somewhat similar structure to those in Britain, but with the advent of full employment, the unions had come to tolerate a much higher degree of occupational mobility and to admit a much larger number as members. An act for training, especially of unskilled workers, had been in operation for two years, with the planning largely in the hands of the trade unions and employers' associations. A wage problem had arisen, for when semi-skilled workers were trained to take over some of the tasks of skilled workers, the unions claimed that skilled rates should be paid, while employers resisted this because the range of the workers concerned was not so great. Another problem was that in most countries the labour demand was increasing not for, but for salaried workers.

Mr. Roger Mertens(3) said that in Belgium, the National Employment Office subsidised firms that did their own training. There was a procedure for accelerated training, whereby workers were prepared who would go into a sector where there was a labour shortage. Training is generally done by the companies themselves and most of the hiring of workers is done independently, usually through the daily press.

Mr. Heinrich Schlick(4) stated that occupational mobility in Germany was hampered because of a deficiency in general education; thus it had been decided to add a ninth year of compulsory schooling. In addition, experience had shown that mobility was impossible without basic training in the crafts of industry. One of the essential parts of psychological preparation was to overcome the fear of the workers concerned that they might not make good in the new job.

Mr. Vimont replied that the forecasts in the third French plan were not all achieved in terms of employment because productivity had risen much faster than had been anticipated and therefore employment predictions had been too high. Labour promotion courses in France were organised by the Ministry of National Education. Access of young people without a high school certificate to higher training had been facilitated and they were able to work their way into the scientific schools, though much opposition had been engendered when one such student entered the Ecole Polytechnique.

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(1) Austrian Federation of Chambers of Labour.

(2) Confederation of Danish Employers.

(3) General Federation of Labour.

(4) Chemical and Allied Industries Employers' Associations, Baden-Württemberg.

The problem of mobility and reconversion was all the easier when there was a high rate of economic expansion, but with relative stagnation, mobility was much reduced. There were few offers of employment at the very moment when declining industries were laying off most workers. In such a situation, the best possible training bodies were powerless.

Mr. Barkin had posed the conflicting views of the need for more training or the disappearance of skill. In fact, the maintenance of automated machines called for considerable skill. It was not possible for firms to train people to this level, a level higher than that of skilled craftsmen, for mathematical training was called for of a sort that could be given only in school. Mr. Vimont reported that he was beginning a pilot study into the content of certain jobs that could be considered as typical, after which he hoped to be able to show the level of skill that was required.

The worker of the future would need to get as broad a training as possible at school in order to be able to absorb the additional training that would be given at work. Those who dealt with the problem of vocational training knew that it was possible to give additional training only to people who had already had a basic training. In France, for those people who came from North Africa and from the agricultural sector, it had been necessary to establish pre-training centres to give additional schooling, especially in arithmetic and elementary mathematics. For the next twenty or thirty years, the most important problem for Europe would be national education.

CASE STUDIES

Occupational Mobility of Manpower in the French Textile Industry

reported by J. Nousbaum(1)

Between 1954 and 1962, when the production of the French Textile Industry increased by nearly 25 per cent, the number of wage-earners employed fell by over 17 per cent.

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(1) Secretary-General, Textile Industries Association, Paris.

Wage-Earners

in thousands

	Men	Women	Total
1954	270	350	620
1962	230	283	513
	-14.9%	-19.1%	-17.3%

This decline in employment was accompanied by a change in occupational structures:

	Engineers Managerial staff	Foremen and Overseers	Technicians	Office Staff	Workers
31st December 1953..	2.4%	3.9%	0.9%	7.3%	86.5%
31st December 1959..	2.8%	3.9%	1.6%	7.3%	84.5%
1965 estimate	3.2%	3.9%	2.0%	7.3%	83.6%

Oddly enough, the textile industry has not been faced with a simple problem of redundancy, for concurrent with the reduction in its labour force (especially during the general manpower shortage of the last few years), it has found great difficulty in recruiting all the manpower it needs. Thus it wishes not only to re-absorb surplus labour but also to attract new recruits and to promote those already employed. The industry thus has a two-fold interest in promoting mobility of manpower.

Advance measures

The succession of national plans has made it possible to make overall estimates of economic activity and, in the textile industry, this has been done for each branch. It was thus possible to impress on each firm the need to adopt an advance employment policy that would take account at one and the same time of the general trend in the industry, the firm's own position and its regional setting. Precautionary measures could then be taken to mitigate hardship resulting from staff reductions and corrective measures to facilitate the redeployment of those who were obliged to leave the textile industry.

But though an overall forecast may be a general guide to an industry, it is at the level of the firm in a regional context that practical difficulties arise and must be solved.

Thus, it is at firm level that advance planning assumes its importance and that future needs must be correctly appreciated in order to work out the methods for adapting manpower to these needs. This adaptation has to be based on an intimate knowledge of normal personnel turnover. Except in rare cases, however, firms have not had enough experience of this factor, which is not surprising when it is remembered that employment had never been of any particular difficulty as textile firms were often located in areas that were not very industrialised, where relatively unskilled (especially female) labour was in plentiful supply.

To remedy this situation, the Union of Textile Industries prepared a survey on manpower movements and structure. This survey is conducted in the form of questionnaires sent to firms every year and collated at regional and national level. This provides firms with the elements needed to appreciate their own exact manpower position, while the regional and national organisations are in a position to judge the general trend and to draw valuable information from this in order to determine what guidance should be given to the industry as a whole.

The great value for firms of a survey of this kind lies in the precise information it can supply on the natural ebb and flow of manpower, making it possible, especially when numbers employed are being reduced, to arrange things in such a way that dismissals are reduced to a minimum and, as far as possible, staggered.

Vocational training

One of the conclusions of the detailed study of employment forecasts has been to illustrate the changes likely to occur in the occupational structure of manpower and the importance of having better training facilities at all levels. The French textiles industry has given particular attention to the question of apprenticeship of younger people and this has helped to increase the mobility of manpower.

This step constitutes one of the precautionary measures taken to improve staff mobility both at industry and at firm level and is quite independent of the corrective measures taken to facilitate the re-employment or re-adaptation of adult workers, which was also necessary.

In view of the structure of textile manpower, on the one hand, consisting as it does of a sizeable percentage of skilled workers, and the effects of technical change on the need for more qualified personnel, on the other hand, firms and their trade associations have done everything to develop the methodical training of all their young recruits. Apprenticeship in the strict sense applies only to skilled trades justifying long-term training; the textiles industry has considered it necessary to organise courses for unskilled workers in order to develop their judgement, knowledge of the trade and skill. This training includes vocational instruction followed by further general training and an examination awarding a "Certificate of Skill" experimentally recognised by the authorities. This training is not left entirely to the firm's initiative; specimen syllabuses have been worked out by representatives of the industry, employers and workers. The training generally lasts for one year in centres which are usually run on a joint basis. In some regions, it has even been arranged by joint agreement that no young person of either sex can be signed on unless he or she has received such training.

This training is also designed in such a way as to enable the more talented recruits to be promoted later but it also serves the purpose of enabling less gifted young people leaving school to train directly for a skilled trade and to advance to a higher grade later.

The training of skilled workers, who are increasing in proportion owing to continued advances in the equipment used, has been considerably improved by the framing of programmes of study and examinations common to the entire textiles industry, whereas not so long ago many certificates existed which had identical names but which corresponded to very different levels of actual skill and had often been granted with one particular purpose in view. This move towards standardizing trade certificates gives their holders a better standing in the event of their having to change jobs, especially as textile instruction has become somewhat polyvalent due to the new openings now afforded by the mechanical engineering or chemicals industries.

Corrective Measures

In spite of all precautions, structural changes sometimes necessitate dismissals. In anticipation of this, a number of steps have been taken, particularly through the Collective Agreement for the Textile Industry. The Agreement stipulates that as soon as the management of a firm foresees a serious decline in activity that might necessitate the dismissal of workers, it must inform the works representatives and consult them on the action to be taken. The local employers' association must then take steps to place the workers concerned in other firms.

Before proceeding to mass dismissals, firms will consult with trade unions and the authorities at regional level, consider possibilities of redeployment and give the longest notice compatible with the efficient operation of the firm. Legal periods of notice have often been extended and the interval between dismissal and redeployment minimised or eliminated.

Severance allowances, though general for salaried staff, are not granted in all cases of dismissal of wage-earners but only in circumstances connected with the changing structure or activity of the firm. There are two kinds of allowances: one applying to dismissals due to improvements in productivity, the other to all dismissals due to the decline of a firm's business.

The Agreement lays down that higher productivity should not in principle be allowed to result in dismissals. Employers have therefore undertaken to do all they can to find new jobs within the firm for workers made redundant by modernisation or re-organisation, retraining them, if necessary, to perform new jobs. If this fails, dismissed workers receive a special allowance equal to three months skilled pay, while the employers' associations do their best to find them jobs in neighbouring firms.

These provisions have resulted in numerous discussions and joint meetings between employers and workers and have contributed to the realisation by management that manpower requirements should be planned in advance.

The agreement has been recently supplemented by the introduction of an allowances payable to workers dismissed because of a slack period. The allowance has a two-fold purpose: it is first a charge on the firm that cannot offer suitable alternative work and is therefore an incentive for it to keep on its workers until a new job has been found; it is compensation for the wage-earner and remains payable even when the workers receive unemployment pay.

In addition to unemployment pay from the State scheme, there is an insurance scheme operated jointly by the employers' associations and unions. This lessens the fear of social unrest resulting from dismissals and thus encourages firms to make the necessary adjustments. Likewise, the pension scheme that was introduced by the industry in 1953 to supplement the State scheme has encouraged firms to reduce considerably the number of employees over 65 years old.

Part-time working has been reduced by the same principle. Where firms might previously have preferred to reduce hours instead of dismissing workers, the collective agreement now requires part-time unemployment to be compensated by the actual firm involved.

The provision of new jobs

The general corrective measures described above, the purpose of which is mainly to facilitate the re-absorption of textile workers by giving them the maximum guarantee, have been accompanied by various specific measures designed to provide new jobs.

The growth of the French economy and the manpower requirements of fast-developing activities have undoubtedly created a state of affairs which is very favourable for the redeployment of textile workers. It was necessary, however, for the textiles industry to take direct action to find or creat new jobs, especially in regions where industrial development came up against difficulties.

All branches of the textiles industry have contributed, but the cotton industry's action is regarded as particularly typical as it was faced with a more serious difficulty in that:

- personnel reductions were greater than the average for the textiles industry as a whole (see the figures cited earlier);
- cotton firms are often located - particularly in the East of France - in rural areas where they represent the only industrial activity and where it is difficult to set up new firms.

The Employers' Association of the French Cotton Industry has formed a special department to organise the winding up or, if possible, the conversion of firms which have been obliged to close down as a result of mergers, concentration or, more usually, structural changes.

Redeployment has been the principal aim of this department, which is in a position to foresee a firm's closing down well in advance and try to find new jobs for wage-earners affected, either on the spot by conversion of the firm or in the same locality in the industry itself, or in neighbouring factories of another kind, or by a combination of these various possibilities.

Although in some cases the isolation of a firm or the local employment situation gave rise to difficulties when the decision to stop work was taken, these were overcome satisfactorily by resorting to a comparatively quick conversion, effected by selling the buildings to some other industry that was able to provide enough jobs to absorb most of the manpower available for redeployment.

Conversion and redeployment of this kind have been facilitated by the measures taken by the public authorities, particularly through the "Economic and Social Development Fund", which helps firms to finance new plant, on the one hand, and gives them technical and financial support for the re-adaptation of manpower, on the other.

It is impossible to consider the various forms of conversion in detail as each case has its own special aspects. With regard to manpower, however, it has been observed how relatively easily textile workers re-adapted to their new jobs.

Such re-adaptation, often accompanied by some promotion, usually took place on the production side. Retraining was provided by instructors chosen from among the firm's technicians or executives who first attended an instructor's course either at a Centre run by the Ministry of labour or at a Trade Centre.

Examples

Mr. Nousbaum gave a number of examples to illustrate the application of the provisions. At Roubaix-Tourcoing there has been a continuous increase in the proportion of workers with special skills and a reduction of those in the lower categories.

The higher proportion of skilled workers, technicians and supervisory staff reflects the vertical mobility of manpower facilitated by the training and re-adaptation schemes introduced by industrial concerns and trade associations.

The Centres responsible for the apprenticeship of young people have supplemented their own activity by the re-adaptation of adults, which has affected several thousand people. In most cases, the latter had to be taught how to use new equipment, as was the case, for example, in combed wool-spinning when continuous spinning machines replaced the spinning jenny. Job changes took place mostly within the same firm.

Adult training has also been introduced in the form of special training for unskilled workers considered fit to become specialised maintenance workers.

Worker promotion courses were also arranged for those who were considered capable of becoming supervisors after selective training.

This effort as a whole resulted in a considerable increase in the percentage of technicians and supervisory staff holding a trade certificate or who had received supplementary vocational training. Whereas the numbers of technicians and supervisory staff increased:

by 31 per cent between 1957 and 1961,

the numbers of these same categories holding a certificate or who had received supplementary vocational training increased

by 96 per cent during the same period.

Another case concerned "Company X", a concern owning several mills, to which the following particulars apply:

Numbers employed

1955	16,000
1963	11,600

i.e. a drop of 27.5 per cent (4,400), including: about 1,000 due to the closure or conversion of mills, about 3,400 due to gradual modernisation.

Effects of gradual modernisation

The reductions due to the effect of gradual modernisation did not raise any serious difficulty because of the natural mobility of this manpower:

- Voluntary departures during the year accounted on average for 10 per cent of the personnel. Each year, they totalled about 1,300, i.e. about 10,000 departures in 8 years;
- Departures through retirement or death accounted for 1.5 to 2 per cent per annum, i.e. 1,500 to 2,000 departures in 8 years.

It was therefore possible to re-absorb 3,400 workers in eight years without appreciably reducing the normal rate of recruitment.

Closure of mills

Five mills have closed down:

Weaving mill at P	95	workers
Weaving mill at T	214	"
Spinning mills at TR	180	"
Weaving mill at H	170	"
Weaving mill at R	140	"
	799	"

These closures were carried out without much difficulty or hardship as they were announced sufficiently well ahead (at least three months).

Of course, redeployment difficulties varied according to local possiblities. In localities with some shortage of manpower (TR and H), redeployment presented no difficulty. These cases must be assimilated with that of P, where new jobs were easily found on the spot or in the neighbourhood, generally in other establishments belonging to the Group.

Redeployment proved to be more difficult at R as this locality did not give scope for the same possibilities as at TR or H. The mills were turned over to a firm exercising a different trade.

It is interesting to note that in actual fact these workers made only little use of the possibility offered by this new venture as 80 workers found jobs in textile firms in the neighbourhood and 35 are still working in a mill belonging to the Group which is about 25 km away where they are taken by a works shuttle service.

Finally, when necessary, supplementary pensions were provided for staff over 60 years old who had to be laid off.

Conversion of mills

(a) At R

The Group ran a spinning mill and a cotton weaving mill in this locality. The spinning mill employed 150 workers but was gradually closed down and replaced by a nylon-weaving mill.

The spinning-weaving ensemble employed 380 workers before conversion and now employs 328.

No dismissals were made. Those over 65 were retired and 12 workers between 60 and 65 years old were retired prematurely; until their 65th birthday, they received a provisional pension in addition to that of the Social Security. This early retirement was never made compulsory; only those workers left who agreed to accept it.

Recruitment was slightly slowed down for a few months.

Although the great difficulty was to teach another trade to older workers who had always been spinners, the average age at this spinning mill was fairly high as two-thirds were over 40.

A training scheme was therefore prepared and three experienced instructresses were chosen to handle this group. In all, reclassification took 18 months, during which time there was a considerable rise in overheads but it was possible to redeploy the workers on good terms.

(b) At S

In this locality, the Group had a spinning mill and a weaving mill both of which were out of date.

The spinning mill, which employed 160, was closed down and replaced by a ready-made clothing workshop; the weaving mill was entirely transformed.

This combination employed 510 people before conversion but now employs 342.

An engineering workshop will shortly be added able to employ some 60 men, so that the balance between male and female jobs available will be achieved.

Here again, there were no dismissals and use was made of the voluntary premature retirement scheme already mentioned.

125 workers were redeployed to one of the Group's mills 6 km away by organising a shuttle service. The difficulties encountered were the same as those mentioned for R and were overcome in the same way.

To sum up, closing down and conversions can be said to have affected only 1,000 out of a total of 4,439 workers; and the closing down and conversions were carried out without any serious trouble in view of the time allowed for doing so and the possibilities of interdepartmental change offered by a large industrial Group.

All the rest is due to the gradual and constant improvement in modernisation and productivity.

This raised no special difficulty. It may even be claimed that recruitment never stopped. Some localities even had serious difficulty in finding manpower.

This means, therefore, that there is a fairly large manpower movement due to young people's attraction to certain trades or government departments (Customs and constabulary).

Discussion

Mr. Gunnar Lindstrom(1) asked why there were two forms of separation allowance - one for dismissals relating to reductions in output and the other for dismissals relating to increases in productivity - and how it was possible to distinguish between the two?

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(1) Swedish Employers' Confederation.

Mr. Thomas B. Ward(1) asked how the tripartite boards were set up when certain moves were impending?

Mr. Barkin asked Mr. Nousbaum to expand on the conduct and operation of the department in the employers' association that facilitates the conversion of closed plants to new services and activities.

Mr. Nousbaum replied that the two sorts of separation allowance had developed for historical reasons. When the collective contract had been signed for the first time in 1951, the French textile industry had been in a phase of adaptation and modernisation that made it sensitive to problems of improved productivity and changing working methods. These problems had given rise to delicate negotiations from which had emerged guarantees that accompanied the introduction of methods involving higher productivity. Experience showed that there were many instances where the two cases could not easily be distinguished, so the system had been modified. The distinction was retained partly because it was difficult to do away with something that exists and partly because when a discussion of new equipment or working methods was introduced at company level, it was necessary to have a mechanism to allow procedure to be different from the simple adaptation of manpower to changing economic conditions.

Discussions were initiated at company level. The company, within the framework of consultation, must state how it is going to evolve in the coming months and the problems that are likely to arise. The problems, when they arise, are taken up at the level of employers' and workers' organisations. These may concern, for example, relocation or retraining. Then contact is made with representatives of government: all dismissals must be authorised by the government, for purposes of observing manpower movements. Government help was needed, too, for making relocation easier.

There was no general formula for the conversion of plants to new services and activities. In many cases, the company that intended to close down would do its own searching. The French Cotton Industry had set up a special service which was at the disposal of companies and which would advise on the best procedure - for example, conversion or simple sale of the establishment - and also advise on finance.

Redeployment of workers discharged from The Norrköping Textile Industries (Sweden)

reported by Georg Lindgren(2)

Between 1950 and 1960, a total of twenty-seven textile factories were closed down in Norrköping - twenty in the wool sector and four in the hosiery sector, two silk-weaving mills, and one manufacturing department for the impregnation of oil-skin clothes. About 1,300 workers were affected by these shut-downs and of these, about 1,100 were in the wool sector.

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(1) Canadian Labour Congress.

(2) Swedish Textile Workers Union.

While no separate information is available concerning the resettlement of those dismissed, reports by the local section of the Textile Workers' Union give particulars of the transfer of members to other unions. Of about 1,700 members who transferred to other unions (and thereby other industries) in the 1950's, 75 per cent shifted to manufacturing industries other than textiles, 15 per cent to trade, transport, storage or communications, and about 5 per cent each to construction work and to government service. More than one-third were employed by the metal industry.

To facilitate resettlement, the labour market authorities made substantial extensions to retraining in the 1950s. Much of these activities now take place in Norrköping, where the premises vacated by the biggest of the textile factories mentioned above are now used for this purpose. There are at present some thirty-five courses with about 350 trainees, in charge of forty instructors. As a rule, training covers one year, but for some jobs is even longer.

Details are available for the new employment obtained by the employees affected by the closing of two factories, both in the woollen sector. Total staff amounted to 550, about a third of the number of members lost by the Norrköping section of the Textile Workers' Union between 1950 and 1960, and rather less than half the number of workers in the twenty-seven factories that closed down.

Of the 550, about a hundred left prior to the final closing of the plants. Seventy workers were able to find other employment during the period of notice that must be given in terms of the agreement for the industry. About 160 obtained work in other textile factories, while about the same number went to factory work in other industries. It may seem strange that so high a number were able to remain in textiles. This was due to the fact that not all textile factories in Norrköping found themselves in difficulties at the same time or to the same extent. Indeed, some factories have been short of skilled workers at the very time that other factories were closing down. The expanding factories have often been keener to employ quite elderly workers who were skilled in the trade than young workers with no experience at all.

Union attitudes

The contraction of the Swedish textile industry in the 1950s may be considered chiefly as a necessary liquidation of enterprises yielding inadequate profits, a process that has resulted in better possibilities for those who are left. On the whole, the competitive position of the industry has improved in recent years and there are now more well-established enterprises than before. Investment in buildings and machinery has been very extensive and indicates confidence in the industry's future. Rising productivity has also generally balanced the increase cost of wages.

During this period, when 150 factories closed down, the Union only once co-operated in efforts to revive a company that was in difficulties, and then with somewhat disappointing results. The Union's attitude is that it is not the size of the industry but its capacity to pay wages comparable with other industries that is important. Rather than protection for the industry, the Union has recommended rationalisation, product improvement, measures to encourage exports and increased co-operation within the industry itself and improvements in subsequent manufacturing, distribution and sales functions. Consequently, a considerable structural transformation has been accepted. Members have expressed their unwillingness to subsidise the industry through low wages.

Naturally, the structural changes in the textile industry would have taken place irrespective of the opinion of the Union. No doubt the resettling process has, however, been facilitated through the Union's positive attitude. If rationalisation in the Swedish textile industry during the 1950s had not been so intensive, the efforts to obtain stability would certainly have been less successful. Simultaneously, the demands for higher wages which were submitted by the Union and the Confederation of Swedish trade-unions accelerated the closing of the least profitable companies.

The resettling of dismissed textile workers in other occupations has been considerably facilitated by the fact that the liquidations of textile factories have mainly been made when other branches of industry were expanding and needing more labour. It has been comparatively easy to offer new and generally better-paid jobs to redundant workers and this indicates the importance of a social economic policy aiming at maintenance of full employment and rapid economic progress as well as of the co-operation of the labour market authorities in retraining and regrouping discharged labour in other occupations. The importance of the unemployment insurance must be stressed in alleviating the economic difficulties in connection with the inevitable redundancy until new positions are provided. As can be seen from the figures of the increase in unemployment between 1950 and 1960 the Recognised Unemployment Insurance Fund of the Textile Workers granted benefits to members unemployed through redundance amounting to more than Sw. Kr. 22,000,000. and out of these almost Sw. Kr. 3,000,000. were paid to members in Norrköping only.

The Union has financed investigations jointly with the employers' association into the problems of the industry. A committee was appointed in 1954, with an impartial chairman and including economic experts. After a three-year investigation, it published a final report under the title, "Textiles - an industry under transformation". In the years 1958-59, the Union also participated in a Government-sponsored committee to investigate the textile industry.

According to the Committee's mandate, the investigation was to be directed not towards State support but towards measures of reconstruction within the industry. It was further pointed out that a strengthening of competitive power would probably include a certain concentration of production, manufacture of "lond series", increased automation, and more intensive exploitation of machinery and other capital investments. The mandate emphasized the importance of increased co-operation within the industry as well as between different links of textile production and distribution together with the desirability of trying to develop exports.

The investigations of the State committee were based on the material received from the earlier investigation. The report of the State committee was headed "Competition under co-operation" and contained a suggestion for an "action programme" for the textile and garment industries.

The three investigations mentioned above were important forums for a specific review of the practical problems of the industry. The investigations and the publicity connected therewith contributed greatly towards clarifying the conditions of the textile industry and putting them in an all-round light. The Union also tried - through participation in the public discussion - to gain support for comprehensive rationalisation measures and a structural change of the textile industry.

During the 1950s, the Union on several occasions made appeals to the Government and labour market authorities for measures to give employment to workers dismissed from textile industries in places where other opportunities of work were not available. Some suggestions for measures against extreme dumping were also delivered to the Government as well as suggestions for placing State and local-government orders in such a way that seasonal fluctuations could be levelled, if possible. In many cases, the appeals gave results which relieved the difficulties of the employees in connection with the diminution of the industry.

Appeals were also made to the competent authorities for improvement of the regulations on benefits for unemployed workers.

When appraising the trade-unions share in the work of assisting dismissed textile workers to obtain work in other fields, it should be remembered that many of the members of the Union are active not only in trade-unions but also in the political life of their communities. Thus, through taking part in local government work they have often been in a position to contribute to the installation of new enterprises in the premises abandoned by the textile industries. In Norrköping, several members of the board and officers of the Union have for a long time held leading positions in local government and have thereby been able to influence the city authorities to work intensively to attract new industries to Norrköping. As existing industries expanded, new industries have also sprung up on a large scale.

The writer made the following comments in a speech delivered at the L.O. congress in connection with the Union's motion and a report made by the Governing Body of the L.O. on "Co-ordinated industrial policy":

"But if the trade unions are to accept whole-hearted co-operation towards quicker structural changes in the economic life, we must make definite demands upon society. We have also good reasons to make demands on the employers. In the first place, we need the following:

(a) Active labour market and location policy, including strengthening of the measures for stimulating the mobility as well as increased possibilities of retraining and vocational training;

(b) More housing in expanding places and regions;

(c) Special steps to offer employment to labour which for various reasons is difficult to place;

(d) Provisions regarding the right to receive compensation when firms close down.

Conclusions

As a result of the changes outlined above, interest in industrial and labour market policies and the understanding of their importance have increased within the Union. This was expressed in a resolution submitted to the congress of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (the L.O.) in 1951, which included the following:

"As far as possible we should aim at adapting our economic life to the altered competitive conditions gradually and in a flexible way so that we can use our limited supply of capital and labour in those sectors of the economy where there are natural pre-requisites and the best results can be obtained. We shall thus in the long run support ourselves and at the same time contribute towards better conditions for other nations, including the developing countries, which will have increased possibilities of selling to us. The developing countries - representing the majority of world population - form a gigantic future market, and as a nation, we have much to gain in an enlarged trade exchange with them even if this is likely to decrease the possibilities in some fields of our industry. But if we are not willing to accept increased imports from the developing countries, our assistance to them will be more or less without effect...

"Realising that during this decade, we may expect a more rapid and sweeping structural transformation of the economic life of our country and the need to transfer economic life to new paths, we think it is necessary to make the labour market policy still more effective and to give the National Labour Market Board bigger resources. Moreover, it is urgent that society be given greater opportunities to influence the location of new industries in those regions dependent on one particular industry and which are likely to be particularly affected by the structural changes in economic life. More rapid and extensive changes in the labour market will also increase the need for retraining and vocational training."

The Training Programme of the American Enka Corporation, North Carolina

reported by Lester F. Zerfoss(1)

American Enka Corporation is one of the largest producers of man-made yarns and fibres in the United States, the country's second largest producer of rayon and a large manufacturer of nylon. It was founded in 1928 by a group of far-sighted Dutchmen, interested in duplicating their Dutch process of making rayon. Two thousand acres of land were bought in the mountain country of North Carolina, with ideal climate, abundance of water, ample supply of capable labour and accessibility to raw materials and markets.

Instructors were brought from the Netherlands and the mountain people, who had previously been largely engaged in agriculture, began to learn the skill of rayon manufacture. American Enka is now owned jointly by the parent company (Algemene Kunstzijde Unie N.V.) and several thousand investors who have purchased shares on the New York Stock Exchange.

The training project included in this case study covers the training of over 3,000 employees in the labour force and over 300 supervisory personnel. The training of operators of various categories included not only the improvement of knowledge and skill but the need to change atttitudes so that they would remain co-operative against the threat of job security and increased productivity. The training of maintenance people called for the development of improved standards, the sharpening of diagnostic skills of trouble shooting and the increased care and accuracy needed to deal with more complicated machinery. Supervisors needed to be trained in the field of human relations, motivation, better understanding of business change and the co-ordinating skills needed to work more effectively with technical and professional people used in manufacturing to support production. Since the foremen were practical people, with education at or below the high school level, the problem of getting them to work co-operatively and meaningfully with a college-trained staff presented a most urgent training need.

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(1) Director of Management Services, Enka.

As the company has expanded and moved progressively into new product lines, it has recognised the desire of older employees to move out of the static or obsolescent areas of the business and to qualify and move into the newer operation and accept the cost and handicap of double training that such a transfer policy entails.

The Nature of the Training Programme

Some sociological implications

The people from the mountain areas where the company recruits its staff have two outstanding characteristics. (1) The educational resources are lagging behind the rest of the country, with only recent attempts to provide vocational education. This means that Enka's employees contain a liberal sprinkling of high ability people who, were they to come from an urban area, would probably be college trained, but now because of their environment find themselves employed at levels below their natural potential. (2) The second characteristic is a resistance to outside leadership, such as is imposed on a community when a new division of a national company locates a plant in the area and brings it college-trained technical personnel with it and recruits its labour force from the local area. Resentment toward this "input" of outside brains and talent, while the human resources of native population remain undeveloped, provides an explosive mixture which can lead to difficult problems of union relations, employee relations, and adaptation to technological change.

Throughout its history, American Enka has solved this problem basically through its promotion-from-within policy as far as its production people are concerned. Assistant foremen and foremen have been promoted from the hourly rated group and have often been promoted further into the management structure. This has meant that hourly rated people have had bosses who have emerged from the ranks and therefore are identified with themselves. Because this identification between employee and foreman has been a traditional asset, the company has had little need over the years to train foremen in communications for they belong to the same families, attend the same churches, send their children to the same schools and hunt and fish together. However, as the process and product have become more complicated and sophisticated, and more and more college trained scientists and engineers have been brought into the company to insure quality and product development, the lack of college trained people in the mountain region has forced the company to recruit these specialists from outside the area. Therefore the problems of communication and coordination between technical and production people have steadily increased. Much of the company's motivation in designing the training programme to be described has come from a realisation that labour peace and employee productivity can only be achieved by maximum utilisation of the local employees not only in the labour force but increasingly in the technical and managerial structure above the hourly rated group. It is most important for the reader to understand this motivation in order to understand the length to which the company has gone to provide educational facilities as well as training and development in its company-wide training programme.

The overall design of the training programme

A far reaching Personnel Development Programme was started in 1953, with four basic stages:

1. Appraisal

A systematic evaluation of each individual's job performance - against the background established by his job requirements - by an appraisal committee consisting of his supervisor and several other people in the organisation personally selected by him who would be in the best position to determine his present status and future possibilities.

2. Review

The overall review of the appraisals by higher management, considering employees of an organisational unit as members of a team, each with a vital role, all with the aim - by use of all available training resources - of synchronising these team members and their work activities to the charted needs of the company. (Supervisors - as part of their own appraisals - were evaluated by the manner, fairness and accuracy with which they reported on their staff.)

3. Discussion

Personal interview between each person who has been appraised and his immediate supervisor to discuss the results of the appraisal in terms of present status and future growth, and to work out together a practical, mutually agreeable plan for his continuing development along lines profitable to himself and American Enka.

4. Development

Implementation, supervision, and follow-up by the immediate supervisor of each individual's development utilising the training resources which have been planned for his growth and improvement according to the programme and schedule previously worked out and agreed upon by the employee and his supervisor.

This programme was followed in an increasingly natural and informal way as experience was accumulated. By 1960, s strong belief had emerged in the responsibility of top management to promote flexible movement of people within the organisation commensurate with personal growth and development. A training programme has been instituted (1) for the training of new entrants and the retraining of old; (2) to enable maintenance workers to service the more sophisticated equipment of the newer installations, using a new Industrial Education Centre in Asheville; (3) to provide a comprehensive educational project (the In-Service Education Project) using local colleges to give selected employees a college degree on an evening school basis, with six years of study paralleling their work experience, and qualifying them for technical and supervisory jobs; (4) to ensure the right calibre of leadership for the mechanised plants of the future, by providing a comprehensive series of human relations workshops for foremen and assistant foremen.

Four Major Projects in the Company's Training Programme

In-Plant operator training project

Mr. Zerfoss listed the training activities under this type of project briefly, although they are of great importance for productivity and efficiency, because they are conventional in type and familiar to most companies.

1. On the Job Training of Operators

All operators, new and established are instructed by qualified instructors. These instructors are regular foremen, temporarily removed for periods of time, especially trained as instructors who take on a training assignment for a year, and then return to their former positions as foremen. Approximately 2,000 employees a year are trained in this manner at the Enka location.

2. A Pre-supervisory School

This consists of a full-time (on-the-job and in the classroom) training for hourly paid operators to prepare them to qualify for future supervisory vacancies. The course is four weeks (eight hours a day) in classroom study. Subjects pertain mainly to administrative and personnel aspects of the assistant foremen's job along with some subjects for the technical aspects of the job. About 100 operators a year are given this training.

3. A Supervisory Development Programme

This programme consists of evening school classes in basic managerial subjects. The courses carry college credit and are taught by instructors from nearby colleges. Certificates are granted. Many of these courses are designed to permit transfer of credits to the In-Service Education programme as trainees show aptitude and motivation to continue their education. Subjects included are: Labour Relations, Personnel Management, Principles of Economics, Production Control, Applied Psychology, Industrial Psychology, Time and Motion Study, Report Writing, and Industrial Management. Between 400 and 500 attend classes of this type each year.

4. Quality Improvement Training

This is a committee-type programme for hourly rated operators. Through discussion and examination of product samples, they are trained to detect irregularities and offer solutions that can be controlled by operators.

5. Other Training Programmes

In addition, a number of programmes are given intermittently as occasion requires: trucker training school, orientation programme, first aid training, co-operative shop training, instructor training course, programmed instruction seminar, secretarial training, etc.

In most of these training activities, plant personnel act as instructors. The programmes are given upon request, and are designed to meet specific operating problems as they emerge.

Project for training and upgrading skilled craftsmen and technicians (Asheville Industrial Education Centre)

Up to the present, twenty industrial education centres have been established in North Carolina, their main aim the development of the skill and technical knowledge of individuals. The Asheville Centre, of whose Board of Directors Mr. Zerfoss is Chairman, is typical of these. Three hundred thousand dollars was provided for its establishment in 1959, and in 1961, its first year of operation, it provided over a hundred classes and enrolled more than 2,000 people.

The wide diversity of industry in the fifteen counties that it serves involves a wide variety of training requirements. While there is a shortage of skilled personnel and technicians, unemployment and underemployment have become chronic problems because a great many people lack qualifications for obtaining employment.

A major function of the Asheville Industrial Education Centre is that of bridging the existing gap between industry's requirements for skilled workers and this large reserve of untrained people. In an attempt to attain this objective, a comprehensive and constantly expanding programme has been brought into operation within the short period of two years. The centre offers full-time pre-employment programmes designed to prepare the trainee for employment in a specific technical or trade occupation, upgrading training for people employed in industry, and specific training for prospective employees of new and expanding industries. To date, more than seven thousand students have been enrolled in all phases of the centre's training programmes.

The centre is located on a twenty-one acre tract of land and is presently housed in two buildings providing twenty-nine thousand square feet of floor space. The programme has developed so rapidly that these facilities are already inadequate, and extension providing an additional twenty thousand square feet of floor space are now under construction. Completion of this building programme will enable the centre to inaugurate several additional curricula and to expand training opportunities in a number of areas currently in operation.

The working relation between the centre's administration and local industrial management has been outstanding. Industrial personnel have assisted in an advisory capacity in planning buildings, selecting equipment, devising courses of study, and recruiting students. This relationship insures that training is practical and continues to be geared to the changing needs of industry. It is felt that this factor, probably more than any other, is responsible for the outstanding acceptance the centre programme has received from industries and businesses in the area.

The Area Redevelopment Act became effective in North Carolina on 1st July, 1962. The stated purpose of this act is, "to establish an effective programme to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment in certain economically distressed areas". One of the five broad types of assistance available under the act provides for occupational training or retraining and further specifies that when need for such training is established, financial assistance shall be made available to the appropriate state vocational educational agency.

Largely to meet the needs of the American Enka Corporation and several other companies in the "heavy industries", the Centre has expanded its training facilities in the field of electronics and instrumentation; thus insuring a future supply of electrical technicians, so vital to proper maintenance of modern, mechanised equipment. The serves involves a wide variety of training requirements. While there is a shortage of skilled personnel and technicians, unemployment and underemployment have become chronic problems because a great many people lack qualifications for obtaining employment.

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- Data Processing Technology
- Drafting and Design Technology
- Electronics Technology
- Chemical Technology
- Mechanical Technology
- Instrumentation Technology
- Machine Shop
- Welding
- Automotive Machines
- Sheet Metal
- Air Conditioning-Refrigeration
- Radio and Television Electricity

In-service degree granting education project
(Western Carolina College)

This programme, one of the first of its kind in the South, grew out of Enka's evening instruction programme, under which more than 200 employees completed courses in 1962, most of them college level. It was begun at the end of 1959, after months of planning by American Enka and Western Carolina College and was designed to give employees liberal opportunities to prepare for specialised positions in commerce and industry, with the accent on industrial management.

Classes representing 75 per cent of the curriculum were held on campus each Friday afternoon, Friday night, and Saturday morning. The remaining 25 per cent of instruction, the maximum off-campus instruction allowed by Western Carolina College for students working toward degrees, was held one night each week at the local Enka High School.

All instruction was carried out by full-time Western Carolina College faculty members, and entrance standards and requirements for the programme were the same as those for regular Western Carolina College entrants.

Employees participating in the programme qualified under the company's tuition refund programme, allowing refunds of 50 per cent of tuition.

The course should be completed in six years.

By 1963 a number of the larger companies in the area were participating in the programme, greatly enlarging its scope. American Enka alone has more than sixty employees working for degrees, with four who entered with advanced credits receiving their degree in June 1963. Almost all the employees attending have received promotion.

Supervisory workshops in human relations

At the beginning of 1962, the top management of the company felt that the time had come for a dramatic effort to improve the quality of leadership at foremen and assistant foreman level. Good progress had been made on the technical aspects of the business, but it was now apparent that progress in human relations had lagged.

The supervisory workshops were designed as an off-the-job discussion type programme. The foremen, in groups of ten, taken from various departments, were taken from the job for a full week of training. The training director of the company stayed with each group throughout the entire week and acted as a discussion leader and workshop co-ordinator. Key management personnel above the foreman level and appropriate staff specialists were used as speakers and discussion leaders throughout the week. The luncheon periods for each of the five days (Monday through Friday) were used as informal social occasions in which the trainees were the guests of the President, the Vice Presidents and General Managers. These luncheons gave the foremen an opportunity to ask questions, get a better understanding of current business problems, and most of all get personally acquainted with the top management of the company.

The following outline gives a brief description of the subjects covered in the workshop day by day throughout the week.

Monday A.M.

Introduction of Programme

The Plant Managers will discuss the purpose of the programme, reflecting the company's concern for a good job in employee relations.

The Plant Managers will also look at overall plant economics and objectives, particularly as they relate to job opportunities and job security for both salaried and hourly-paid personnel.

Monday P.M.

Meeting Leadership

Discussions will be held on improving all group contacts, formal and informal, between foremen and employees.

Tuesday A.M.

Work Motivation - Changing Attitudes

Using positive motivations in the man-boss relationships to increase competence, productivity, and loyalty of employees. The skills and techniques that the foreman can use to develop constructive attitudes in his employees.

Tuesday P.M.

Foreman as Trainer

The training responsibilities of the foreman will be emphasized. He should survey training needs, implement training, and follow up to determine its effectiveness.

Wednesday A.M.

Foreman as Communicator

The value of on-the-job communications - upward, downward, and laterally -- will be stressed. The foreman's role in securing and transmitting information is reviewed.

Wednesday P.M.

Handling Complaints and Grievances

Special emphasis will be given to means of preventing complaints and grievances, how to settle them as quickly as possible before a minor complaint becomes major.

Thursday A.M.

Working With Your People

The supervisor-employee relationship is presented as the most important part of a foreman's responsibility, and yet one which is too often relegated to the background because of other immediate problems with equipment, schedules, etc.

Thursday P.M.

Improving Employee Productivity

Each Production Manager will summarise the status of his product with regard to sales and production, stressing the importance of quality and cost.

Friday A.M.

Review: The Foreman's Job

The total job of the supervisor will be analysed and set forth by the group. It will be shown how, in this framework, the various discussions of the week fit together.

Friday P.M.

Open Session

To be devoted to informal discussions, with particular emphasis on suggestions and feed-back from foremen.

An appraisal of experience

In looking at the overall objective of the company's training effort - the development and maintenance of a competent employee - management team adequate to meet the present and future manpower needs of a dynamic, expanding company - it is believed that the various projects outlined briefly in this paper are making substantial contributions to this end result. This is reflected in higher morale, lower turnover, improved management-union relationships, increased productivity, and better co-operation in initiating the changes needed to remain competitive.

The efforts to upgrade and use to better advantage the educational resources of the region are making it possible to move more employees native to the community into technical and managerial jobs, so that the company's promotion-from-within policy will extend into the "grass roots" level and make it possible for hourly rated employees to qualify for promotional opportunities. A worthwhile by-product of the projects designed to further this result is improved public and community relations. The company has gained a reputation for being a strong supporter of education and interested in the development of its personnel to their maximum potential.

The project to upgrade technicians and craftsmen is in its initial stage, and more time will be needed to determine how fully the community resources for technical training can be utilised to meet future needs. A good start has been made, and the prospects look good. This is especially true, since the Industrial Education Centre is maintaining a flexible policy of designing its instructional programme to meet the specific needs of the industry it serves. Through the use of course advisory committees, the design of the course content is the mutual responsibility of the school instructors and company technicians.

One of the outcomes of the supervisory workshops was re-vitalising of communications, both upward and downward. Under the free-and-easy atmosphere of the workshop discussions, the foremen brought to the attention of upper management many problems that needed to be solved, policy adjustments that needed to be made, and numerous suggestions and recommendations of a constructive nature. These comments and recommendations have been carefully reviewed by top management and appropriate action has been initiated, so that the foremen can see that their ideas received attention. The foremen have asked for continuing training as a follow-up to the workshops, and this training will be provided. Many examples of improved foreman-employee relationships have come to light as the foremen have endeavoured to put their new leadership insights into practice after participating in the workshops.

All in all, the management of the company feels that the various projects, taken together, are getting tangible results in equipping key personnel to meet future manpower and management needs.

The Role of the Trade Unions

reported by Pierre Jeanne(1)

Mr. Jeanne dealt mainly with geographical mobility, and this aspect of his paper has been dealt with above(2). With regard to occupational mobility, trade unions felt no particular need to intervene when it was spontaneous or voluntary. They did intervene, however, to obtain better teaching and real vocational training which would go beyond the basic essentials and help encourage free movement and be a basis for promotion for many workers.

Spontaneous mobility was contrasted with imposed mobility, that arose during the conversion of industries or undertakings. This involved a number of difficulties:

- Understandable hesitation on the part of the worker to abandon his trade;
- Difficulty in re-entering apprenticeship, particularly after a certain age, and difficulty in adapting the hands to the requirements of high-speed or production line work;
- Loss of professional qualification or wages;
- Need for a minimum level of education to attend adult vocational training courses (several workers have been refused entry to these centres for lack of the necessary elementary education).

One requisite for healthy mobility was for the democratic reform of teaching. F. Lantier(3) notes: that the present trend in technical development is for vocational training to be less specialised, specialisation being regarded as the establishment of a close functional relationship between a man and a machine or type of machine with the object of producing a certain article or type of articles.

Movements of manpower between the main sectors of economic activity are now hindered by the technical complexity of those sectors and it will become more and more difficult to find outlets for semi-skilled and unskilled labour. Only an overall long-term policy can resolve this problem, with a sound basic culture, basic technical training, more facilities for training and retraining. In the words of Jean Monnet, "What divides men most is no longer money but education".

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(1) Secretary of the Metal Working Federation, C.F.T.C.

(2) On pages (21 to 29).

(3) Bulletin du Centre d'études et de Recherches Psychotechniques No. 1, 1963.

The Role of Employers' Organisations

reported by Dr. Walter Schlotfeldt(1)

The growth and prosperity of an economy depends on the presence of a reservoir of highly qualified manpower, for while the demand for unskilled workers decreases, that for skilled workers constantly increases. Occupational mobility, therefore, requires a sound and basic vocational training. A worker who is trained only for a specialised job and has achieved highly specialised knowledge and abilities in this field does not have a high degree of mobility.

Everything should be done to induce young people when entering working life to go through an apprenticeship. Employers and their organisations can contribute greatly to occupational mobility if they do everything to induce new entrants to the labour force to get sound basic training before they become specialised. Employers have the responsibility of providing training facilities and opportunities, which it should be their constant endeavour to improve in quality and quantity.

Dr. Schlotfeldt stressed the need for the improvement of the basic education of young people, to equip them for the expanding intellectual requirements of the economy. This would require pressure to be exerted on education authorities by employers and their organisations. It was the duty of employers, too, to use their facilities to improve vocational guidance, and to provide those giving this guidance with information on the future occupational requirements of industry.

Occupational changes take place constantly within an enterprise and an employer, to get the best people in the right jobs, may train or retrain workers within his establishment or in schools set up by employers' organisations or other institutions. In the case of large corporations, early retraining and the transfer of workers to other plants or departments may mitigate the effects of closures.

However, most employers are probably not in a position to set up special retraining courses for their redundant employees. It is unrealistic to ask an employer in a declining industry to increase the mobility of his workers by retraining - here it is the responsibility of the community. This applies, too, to handicapped workers, workers in obsolescent occupations and those who are too old to be retrained or are unemployed because they had no training at all.

In all these cases, co-operation between employers and the responsible authorities is of great importance. The authorities may give specific incentives to employers to retrain and re-employ affected workers.

In answer to discussion, Mr. Schlotfeldt added that he had no objection to trade unions participating in training programmes. In

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(1) German Employers' Association.

Germany, the trade unions did a great deal of supplementary training of their members; so should employers. But it must not be allowed to become a question of prestige or competition between employers and trade unions. It should be left to those who are best at it, with both sides contributing whatever they could.

POLICIES OF GOVERNMENTS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

In his report on the mobility of manpower in the German Federal Republic, Mr. Günter Koepke(1) gave, as his first conclusion, that the problems of mobility were quite different in each country. In reviewing the history of each country, one can also observe that these problems vary considerably from time to time; in part, they are not national differences but differences relating to a particular stage of economic development. In the reports on Italy summarised above, we saw how, in that country, the nature of the problem had changed with the advance of industrialisation, even in the course of a few years.

National differences emerge, however, because of the different political complexions of governments and differences in culture, laws and institutions, religion and social and moral norms. Mr. Koepke emphasized that in Germany freedom of movement is guaranteed by the constitution, in constrast to the time when workers were forbidden by law to change their jobs. Mr. R. Clark (2) reported the difficulties in occupational mobility in the United Kingdom that arose from the early organisation of trade unions along craft lines. Thus the Industrial Training Act of 1963 had required a revolution in thinking to enable training to be planned on an industry-wide basis.

In all countries, there are powerful currents taking workers from agriculture into urban industry, from villages to towns and towns to cities or conurbations. These are most powerful in countries such as Italy and Greece, from which there has been a substantial exodus to other countries. Mr. Panajiotis Papadimitriou(3) described the conditions that had given rise to this movement from Greece. In 1951, 48.7 per cent of the population was in agricultural areas; in 1961, this was down to 43.6 per cent. Within recent years, emigration had amounted to 80,000 a year - enough to offset the natural increase in the population. It was against this background that mobility had to be organised or controlled. An insurance fund gave compensation for unskilled workers. Jobs must be obtained and workers sought through state employment offices. Notice of termination of employment for manual or clerical workers varied from fifteen days to ten months, while for higher occupations it ranged from one month to two years. There is no government system for aiding geographical mobility.

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(1) Economics Department, Metalworkers' Federation (DGB).

(2) Amalgamated Engineering Union.

(3) Administrative Committee, Greek Confederation of Labour.

For other countries represented at the seminar, the problem was not primarily the provision of jobs, but of facilitating the flow of manpower and of industry and the provision of the requisite skills and the basis education on which these skills could be built. The need for improved basic education was generally emphasized, for without it, retraining became difficult.

Basic education

Dr. Hans Reithofer(1) reported that in Austria new school laws had been introduced in 1962, with an increase in compulsory schooling from eight to nine years. The last year is to be "polytechnical". Pupils were helped to choose an occupation by vocational guidance and then given a training on which the occupation could be based. Vocational guidance was done satisfactorily.

Mr. Koepke felt that in Germany compulsory schooling was insufficient and did not give a satisfactory basis for learning an occupation. In some states, there was a compulsory ninth year, but a general extension to nine or ten years was desirable, with the tenth year for basic technical preparation.

Mr. Thomas B. Ward(2) felt that in Canada, too, a re-evaluation was due of the facilities for preparation for work. Education was under provincial control so that there was some variation in the regulations, but generally speaking it was compulsory for children to remain at school until their sixteenth year. The number of guidance counsellors in both schools and universities is on the increase and has become an accepted part of the educational system.

Mr. Lester S. Zerfoss(3) said that the length of compulsory schooling varied from state to state in the United States, but generally terminated in the eighth grade, though many states had added two years to the school programme in the form of community colleges. Vocational programmes were increasingly being added in the shape of junior colleges. It was now widely realised that motivation must be increased to diminish drop-outs - those who leave before their schooling is completed.

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(1) Department for Labour Market Policy, Austrian Federation of Chambers of Labour.

(2) Director of Federations and Labour Councils, Canadian Labour Congress.

(3) Director of Management Services, American Enka Corporation.

Retraining

An urgent need was felt for the extension of facilities for retraining and for the improvement of techniques for doing so. Mr. Reithofer reported that in Austria, training courses were arranged and financed by employers' and workers' organisations and were mainly designed for the advanced training of employees in their spare time. There was no training subsidy for adults, but unemployed workers could continue to draw unemployment relief during the training period. Good results has been obtained in the training of unskilled workers (especially women) for the catering ndustry and in training workers for office jobs. There were also some courses in evening schools giving supplementary training to skilled workers in electronics and other subjects. Correspondences courses were also conducted.

The Labour Administration was hampered by the fact that it could train only those who were receiving unemployment benefit.

Mr. Roger Mertens(1) reported that in Belgium there was a network of schools for full- and part-time technical training but, to meet demands, it had been necessary to introduce a scheme for accelerated vocational training. The schools were directed particularly at adolescents, however, and were not suited to the training of adults. The accelerated programme has been organised by the National Employment Office not so much to change skills, but for the needs of qualified workers or those in process of qualification. They are open to employed and unemployed workers.

There are three categories of training centres: those established by the National Employment Office, those established by businesses or groups of businesses, public or private. in collaboration with the National Employment Office, and those organised on the initiative of businesses and recognised by the Office. Programmes are initiated only if it can be demonstrated that there is a shortage of manpower in the occupations for which they are desired.

During training, payment is made at the rate of the negotiated wage, with a bonus varying according to the length of training and a further bonus after the candidate has completed six months work in his new trade.

As well as collective training, individual training is available to persons who are unemployed and who continue to receive unemployment pay during training. Firms can apply for reimbursement for the cost of training workers when firms are established, expanded or converted.

Mr. Ward reported a substantial increase in facilities for retraining and occupational advancement of adults in Canada in recent years, especially as provided by Federal-Provincial Vocational Training

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(1) Legal Adviser, General Federation of Labour, Belgium.

Agreements. Under these agreements, there are some ten different schedules involving vocational training, including training for the physically handicapped and for the unemployed. For the unemployed, this often comprises training unskilled workers, and in other cases retraining workers whose skills have become redundant. Many vocational schools are now being built.

Five years ago, the number of unemployed workers receiving vocational training was between four and five thousand; in 1962, the number was 34,000 and this number is likely to double in the next two or three years. Vocational training is the responsibility of provincial governments, but the federal government pays 75 per cent of the cost of training unemployed persons.

The National Employment Service selects trainees, who draw either unemployment benefits or provincial training allowances during training. Training courses are linked with the aptitudes and interests of workers through the use of general aptitude test batteries.

Another programme operated by the National Employment Service provides assistance for ex-servicemen to be integrated into civilian work by utilising as far as possible skills acquired in the armed forces. Every local office is provided with information showing civilian equivalents of occupations in the armed forces.

Occupations training is also carried on through the apprenticeship system. Training activities are financed by equal contributions by the Federal and Provincial governments. Many collective agreements provide for the training of apprentices, usually under the supervision of a committee composed of representatives of management and labour, working in conjunction with the Provincial Administrator of Apprenticeship Training.

Mr. Aage Tarp(1) reported that in Denmark they have started an intensive investment in improving the qualification of manpower at all levels, from the highest academic education to the training of unskilled workers. Denmark was poor in natural resources and raw materials and, to compete with other countries, had to concentrate on producing high quality goods and on developing new products. Thus manpower was required with high qualifications. Technical development and the structural change needed in industry to serve bigger markets also required great occupational mobility, which, in turn, depended on good basic vocational training and good retraining facilities.

An Act has been passed to promote the training of unskilled workers, which should help to promote occupational mobility. The emphasis is on the adaptation of training to meet the current demands of production, so that training tends to be of short duration and in a limited field. Three weeks is a normal training period, and participants receive payment equal to the normal unemployment benefit, plus 50 per cent in the case of breadwinners.

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(1) Confederation of Danish Employers.

A network of schools is being established to train unskilled workers,. whose response has been very encouraging despite full employment. Basic training may be followed with training in more specialised fields so that an unskilled worker may obtain qualifications approaching those of skilled workers or, in certain fields, even beyond.

Vocational training of skilled and unskilled is largely in the hands of the unions and employers, who jointly accept responsibility for the improvement of qualifications and co-operate willingly and constructively.

Mr. Koepke reported that in Germany the trade unions financed further training schemes, including "training firms", correspondence schools, occupational proficiency testing, data processing schools and special technical courses on, for example, welding.

Mr. Guido Baglioni(1) reported that substantial efforts had been made in Italy in the last few years to improve and increase the number of technical schools, though the education system remained underequipped with schools of this sort. Institutions for the retraining of adults are generally managed by non-governmental associations, such as trade unions, even when they are publicly financed. They are insufficient in number and often suffer from a lack of co-ordination. Private enterprises promote schools for training technical and clerical workers to meet the requirements of the employer concerned, while the unions have organised schools for general and vocational training of young workers, with finance generally provided by the Ministry of Labour.

Mr. Zerfoss said that, in the United States, the number of adults enrolled in courses for retraining in 1960 was equal to the number of children in the education programme. Since 1960, there had been more adults in training than children at school. Mr. Liegey(2) added that supplementary training was a recognised function of employers and unions, who both operated schools, including apprenticeship training programmes. In the electrical industry there were provisions for training programmes in the collective agreement.

Information on occupational trends

In most countries, it is only in the periodic census of population that detailed information is gathered relating to occupational distribution. This takes place only once in ten years and takes several years to tabulate and publish so that it loses much of its practical value for policy formation. Statistics derived from social insurance funds are a bountiful source of employment information with regard to industries but do not lend themselves to occupational analysis.

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(1) Italian Confederation of Trade Unions.

(2) W.R. Grace Overseas Chemical Division.

In the United States, however, up-to-date information is produced by sampling methods, while in the United Kingdom a sample survey is to be conducted mid-way between population censuses, and occupational data (in certain broad categories) are now obtained periodically from employers.

Mr. Heinrich Schlick(1) stressed the difficulties caused in this connection.

Geographical mobility

Mr. Reithofer reported that there had been considerable geographical mobility in Austria after the war. 17 per cent of the inhabitants of Austria migrated to western Austria between 1945 and 1951, while there was in addition a strong movement from villages to towns, occasioned not so much by the attraction of higher wages but by the social advantages of towns. There is in addition considerable daily, weekly or seasonal movement between homes and jobs.

Some collective agreements provide for travelling allowances and severance allowances for workers who cannot get employment near their homes and who must maintain two residences. But there is not yet a system of moving and starting allowances. Public authorities promote development areas on a limited scale by improving infrastructure and promoting the creation of new enterprises.

Mr. Mertens reported that in Belgium there had been some movement from north to south, particularly associated with the coal mines, but there had been no problem of mass movement in which workers had left their region of origin to work in another place. Belgium is a small country, however, and there is evidence of a considerable daily or weekly movement between home and work. The majority of workers preferred this to moving their homes, but it had serious social consequences. With a nine-hour day and five day week, long absences from home resulted and there was not much free time to follow evening courses, participate in cultural or family life or in trade union activity. Daily travel also resulted in physical fatigue.

For those who remained at the place of work for the week, there was a tendency to work very long hours so that they may set off for home on Friday afternoon and return at mid-day on Monday so as to prolong their week-end contact with their families.

"Work in all the regions of the country" was a slogan supported by all interested parties: the government, political parties, employers' and trade union organisations.

Transport changes did not form an important element, partly because workers benefitted from reduced fares, partly because employers sometimes paid the fares themselves. Unemployed workers were entitled to refuse employment if it would occasion an absence from home of more than thirteen hours.

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(1) Chemical and Allied Industries Employers' Association for Wurttemberg-Baden.

In contrast to Belgium, Canada was one of the largest countries in the world, with a coast-to-coast width of 4,500 miles. Mr. Ward stated that the National Employment Service had been formed during the second world war and had continued to expand until at present it is the prime agency responsible for the organisation and placement of the working force. The Service is guided in its operation by the National Employment Committee, consisting of representatives of employer and employee organisations, along with representatives of the general public.

One of the means used to organise the employment market is for the movement of the unemployed to places where employment is available. Public funds may be applied to the transportation of harvest workers or as advances (afterwards recovered from employers) to enable workers to move to specific firms. A third method involves the payment of transport costs of workers, their families and households effects from places designated as "labour surplus areas" to localities where employment opportunities are available. This applies only to workers who are unable to pay transport costs themselves and the jobs to which they move must be such as to provide a reasonable opportunity for the worker to re-establish himself.

Mr. Ward discussed the problems of seniority and pensions. The difficulty was to give workers the necessary sense of security and at the same time to facilitate mobility. For pensions, this would require master plans on an area or industry basis. Collective bargaining in Canada was typically on a single-plant basis and the advisability of larger-scale bargaining might have to be considered.

There is considerable mobility in Canada, notwithstanding these problems, but it might have to be increased if there are far reaching changes in technology. But Mr. Ward stressed that mobility should also be applicable to industry, thereby avoiding the very serious dislocations that might otherwise occur. This would require some degree of planning and control over the use of investment capital.

Mr. Tarp described efforts to reduce geographic movement in Denmark through the Act on Regional Development. Under the Act, support may be granted to undertakings in regions with a small number of industrial enterprises and a large supply of manpower. Public works may also be established in terms of the Act. In the event, the Act has not been used very much because private enterprise has on its own initiative moved to regions where labour has been available.

Mobility of labour, though helped by the provision of travel and installation grants, is hampered by a shortage of housing. Temporary accommodation may be provided by the public labour placement officer. At the same time, because of the good road system, a Danish worker may live 100 Km. from his work, and yet travel to and fro every day.

The placing of labour is mainly undertaken by the state-recognised unemployment insurance funds, of which there are about 4,000 administered locally by the trade unions. In addition, there are about thirty public labour placement offices. The employment service is at present being investigated by a committee of experts.

Concerning the United States, Mr. Eli Oliver(1) reported that only in the railroad industry is there a governmental system for aiding geographical mobility. This system works effectively, with employers and trade unions playing a major role in guiding and helping railway workers in relocations. The combined system is not yet big enough to meet the needs of the industry completely, but it has been steadily extended and appears likely to reach complete coverage within a short period. The provisions of the system, as thus far developed, cover employed persons as well as those forced out of employment by the conditions to which the joint governmental and collective barbaining system applies.

Though this system has so far found general acceptance only in the railroad industry, a substantial beginning has been made in other branches of transport. In other industries, only isolated local agreements have so far been reached, but it seems probably that the underlying principles will be adopted in all those sections that are either regulated by government or have effective labour organisations.

Programmes of the International Organisations

The European Economic Community

Mr. Jean Geldens(2) said that the aim of the Community was the removal of discriminatory systems existing between member states. Two factors influenced mobility: first, the working of the social funds; second, vocational training programmes within the Community. The social funds offer training allowances for workers who are redundant and for those who are affected by conversion schemes. The purpose of retraining and resettlement is to ensure alternative employment for workers by promoting higher skills and mobility.

The aim was to get the Member countries to tackle these problems, so it seemed wiser to bring the social funds into operation retroactively. National authorities must first resettle or retrain, after which the fund steps in to cover half the costs of the conversion projects. In 1961, the first year of the fund's full operation, there were applications for refunds from all the members except Luxembourg, totalling 1,300 million Belgium francs. Thus the applicants must have spent more than 2,600 million Belgium francs for retraining and resettling their unemployed.

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(1) Economic Adviser to the Railway Labour Executives Associations.

(2) Head of Division, General Directorate for Social Affairs, E.E.C.

Article 128 of the Rome Treaty lays down that the Council shall, on the recommendation of the Commission and after the Economic and Social Committee has been consulted, establish general principles for occupational training, capable of contributing to the harmonious development both of individual countries and of the Common Market. These were submitted to the Council of Ministers on 3rd October, 1961 and came into force on 2nd April, 1963.

They begin by outlining the current policy on vocational training, based on a prior survey of the quantitative and qualitative requirements of the different branches of industry at national and Community level. The Commission will be assisted by an Advisory Committee on vocational training, with an equal number of representatives of governments and of associations of employers and trade unions. There will be an exchange of experiences in the field of vocational training, including that for agriculture, transport, skilled and skilled crafts. The training of instructors is to be promoted and standards and curricula for the various courses standardized. Uniform tests will be established at Community level for competitive examinations and an attempt be made to even out the supply of training in the Community.

There will be joint financing of programmes, including the establishment of a model organisation for vocational training, the setting up of European apprenticeship centres; new centres for the training of instructors and the adaptation of national centres for Community training of instructors.

The High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community

The High Authority's action in facilitating the geographical and occupational mobility of workers must be seen in relation to the E.C.S.C.'s general aim of protecting labour in its industries from the hardships of resettlement. Article 56 of the Treaty of Paris states that the High Authority may grant non-reimbursable assistance to workers of coal, iron and steel enterprises on the following conditions:

1. If the introduction of technical processes or new equipment within the framework of the general programmes of the High Authority should lead to an exceptional reduction in labour requirements in the coal or steel industries which create special difficulties in one or more areas for the re-employment of the workers released.

2. If radical changes affecting markets for the coal and steel industries which are not directly linked with the establishment of the Common Market compel certain enterprises to cease, diminish or change their activity(1).

The High Authority's powers do not therefore apply to all who are discharged workers but only to those who are affected by structural changes in Community industries, and may only be granted at the request of the Governments concerned and on condition that they contribute at least an equivalent amount.

In spite of these limitations, it is interesting to note that, between 1954, when the first request was made by the Government of a member state, and 1963, the High Authority assisted over 120,000 workers from some 200 enterprises.

Assistance may take the following forms:

- The payment of indemnities to tide the workers over until they can obtain new employment;
- Allowances to firms enabling them to pay their personnel in the event of temporary laying off due to their change of activity;
- The granting of allowances to workers for reinstallation expenses;
- The financing of technical retraining for workers who are led to change their employment.

In agreement with the Governments concerned, the High Authority has striven constantly over the last ten years to extend and diversify all these forms of action in order to cope as effectively as possible with the implications of various special cases of resettlement. Thus a number of schemes exist to see that everything is done to provide workers with new jobs within a reasonable period of time, while leaving them some choice in terms of their skills and physical aptitudes.

When a mine or steelworks is compelled to diminish its activity, re-organise its plant or close down, all the authorities concerned attempt to provide new jobs quickly, and in the same region, for the labour released. In many regions - particularly those which are mainly industrial - difficulties in providing new jobs have been overcome very promptly and workers have been redeployed as a result of contacts made between employers and labour exchanges and other employers in the region before the discharges took place.

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(1) From 1953 to 1960, the High Authority also intervened to help workpeople where enterprises or parts of enterprises had ceased or changed their activity as a result of the establishment of the Common Market. This was done on the basis of a temporary provision (paragraph 23 of the "Convention des Dispositions Transitoires").

The steady improvement of the overall economic situation and of the labour market in the Community has contributed a great deal in this respect.

In other regions, on the other hand, where the mine or the steelworks is sometimes the main, if not the only, industrial complex, the re-employment of workers meets with many obstancles and can only be achieved by creating new industries or by giving workers an incentive to accept jobs in other regions. Experience in several Community countries bears out the fact that workers rarely favour a move which takes them away from their families and friends. Furthermore, the High Authority considers it a duty to contribute to regional economic equilibrium and to support or revive the economic life of a region threatened by the disappearance or diminished activity of coal and steel industries. With this in mind the High Authority has launched an active reconversion policy and has helped new enterprises with loans or guarantees to set themselves up in various regions such as the Borinage, the Champagnac region, the Genoa area, etc.

Even when the economic situation makes it possible to offer the worker a new job rapidly, it is not always possible to offer him a job which is suited to his qualifications and skill. The High Authority has attempted therefore, in co-operation with Governments, to provide assistance which will make it easier for workers to accept new jobs. This assistance takes the following forms:

1. **Guaranteed percentage of the former wage.**

   The worker is guarenteed for a limited period, which may be two years in certain regions, a sum equivalent to a percentage of the wage he received immediately before his discharge (between 80 and 100 per cent of the wage, according to the country), i.e. the High Authority and the Government concerned pay the worker the difference between the guaranteed wage and the wage for the new job. This assistance is justified by the fact that usually it takes time for a worker to settle into a new job, especially if he has first had to undergo retraining and if, as is often the case, his initial output is lower than the normal one.

2. **Guaranteed percentage of the former wage during retraining.**

   To encourage workers to attend retraining courses, learn a new trade, or become more specialised, the High Authbrity guarantees them a wage, equal to that granted to re-employed workers, for the period during which they undergo training.

3. **Paricipation in the cost of retraining.**

   The High Authority also pays 50 per cent of the cost involved in running a retraining course (the salaries and social security contributions of instructors, rents, equipment, raw materials, etc.).

These courses are generally organised by the labour exchanges or vocational training services of the Member States or by independent bodies, or by firms themselves. In some cases, particularly in converted industries, courses are organised before workers become redundant, which is clearly an ideal solution since the worker is trained to meet the requirements of a specific firm and is sure of immediate re-employment after his discharge.

In the Community as a whole, about 2,500 workers have taken retraining courses with the help of the High Authority. This relatively low figure is explained by the fact that this form of assistance has only become appreciable since 1960.

Although the High Authority considers that re-employment in the same locality should be encouraged, it believes that its resettlement policy should also aim at making it easier for a worker to accept a new job elsewhere, either because he can find a job there calling for his particular skill or because, in spite of conversion schemes, re-employment locally proves impossible. The assistance mentioned above therefore either facilitates a definite move by the worker or his regular travel to and from the new place of work. It must be emphasized that a worker does not have to move a long distance away in order to qualify for allowances, it is enough if he cannot return within a reasonable time to the home he lived in before his dismissal.

Where there are no suitable travel facilities available, a worker may therefore qualify for these allowances even though the new place of work is only 10 or 15 kilometers away from his home. On the other hand, they are not granted when the facilities enable him to get home within a reasonable time.

When a worker has to move house in order to take up a new job, he is entitled in all the countries concerned to repayment of travel expenses for himself and the members of his family, together with the cost of furniture removal. In addition, he is entitled to a re-instalation allowance, the amount of which differs from one country to another. The highest sum paid is $400 for a married worker, plus $40 for each dependent child. So far about 6,000 workers have benefited from this form of aid.

When a worker has to pay the cost of daily travel between his home and his new place of work, this expense is borne by the Government and the High Authority for one year in certain regions.

There are cases when a worker is unable to return home daily and cannot find immediately housing in the vicinity of his new job. In order to alleviate hardship which may result from having to maintain two households, the High Authority grants a daily separation allowance in a Community country and also pays the cost of travel home once a month.

Since 1954, the High Authority has given substantial aid, in the form of loans raised from borrowed funds or its own resources, to construct housing for workpeople of the Community industries. The sums so far earmarked for these programmes will make it possible to build about 100,000 dwellings up to 1965.

The High Authority has also made use of its powers in this field to encourage the geographical mobility of workers and has granted appropriations for housing construction.

When the High Authority must seek and is seeking co-operation with the Governments and enterprises concerned is:

(i) to maintain the income of the worker and family until he can find a new job;

(ii) to assist the worker's efforts to use his skill again to the best advantage, if need be at the price of retraining;

(iii) to provide re-employment in a stable job and in an economically sound activity.

As a consequence, the action of the High Authority helps to change the economy of a region hit by the partial or total closure of enterprises; it prevents pockets of under-consumption and whenever possible leads to the economic revival of the region concerned. The High Authority is thus fulfilling the social and economic mission entrusted to it by the Treaty setting up the European Coal and Steel Community.

In reply to discussion, Mr. M. Cointre(1) added that the intervention of the E.C.S.C. covered two aspects of vocational training: aid to workers to encourage them to follow courses in vocational training, with a wage guarantee of between 90 and 100 per cent of income on termination of employment, and subsidies for training centres operated by public authorities or firms. Sometimes training centres were established in firms before workers were dismissed. 90 per cent of those retrained could at the end of their course enter the new employment for which they had been trained.

The International Labour Office

Professor Claude Zarka(2) reported that the International Labour Office was making a study of international differences affecting industrial, occupational and geographical mobility of labour in certain countries of Western Europe. It has for a long time been occupied with the problems under discussion at the seminar in Castelfusano. Full employment in the industrialised countries has brought fresh problems to the public authorities - inflation, shortages (especially of skilled manpower), difficulties in extending the duration of schooling and in encouraging vocational training of the young, and an absence of a coherent policy concerning manpower. Full employment has not eliminated the difficulty of redeploying manpower from declining industries.

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(1) Head of Division, Labour, Health and Re-adaptation Directorate, European Coal and Steel Community.

(2) Faculté de Droit et des Sciences Economiques, Aix en Provence; Consultant to the I.L.O.

The I.L.O. has returned to the subject of the exodus from the land, with which it was concerned between the wars and in 1960 published a study on this theme. In the introduction, it was asserted that manpower was leaving agriculture for other industries at faster rate than ever before. But the conditions under which this process operates differ in under-developed countries and in developed countries, and this merits analysis.

In advanced countries, it cannot be doubted that the principal motivating factor is the comparative lowness of agricultural income. In the United States, Germany, France and Italy it is often not more than half and never more than three-quarters of non-agricultural income(1).

The textile industry is also the subject of concern. Labour problems arising from modernisation and the effect of international competition on incomes and employment have been treated in articles in the International Labour Review(2). The labour problems of coal mining were the subject of a tripartite conference in January 1961, at which the seven countries most gravely affected were represented: the German Federal Republic, Belgium, the United States, France, Japan, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom(3).

Professor Zarka also referred to the following I.L.O. publication:

"Termination of employment" Report VII(1), Geneva 1961, pages 78, which deals, inter alia, with reductions of employment due to modernisation, automation, mechanisation and rationalisation.

"The objectives of employment in economic development" (Report of a meeting of experts, Geneva, 1961, pages 308).

"Unemployment and structural change" Geneva, 1962, pages 246.

"Conference technique préparatoire sur la politique de l'emploi", Geneva, 1963.

Professor Zarka reported that he and Professor Francois Sellier had been conducting an inquiry since August, 1963 concerning the mobility of labour. Its principal object is to measure, with the maximum detail, international differences in labour mobility - industrial, occupational and geographic. Following the brief from the I.L.O., the work may be divided into three successive steps:

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(1) Herbert Kötter: "Comparison of wages in industry and agriculture", International Labour Review, July 1960, and "The economic and social repercussions of the industrialisation of rural areas", I.L.R. July 1962.

(2) June 1960 and January 1963.

(3) Roneoed report, pages 43, Ref. CC/1961/9, Geneva, 1961.

1. Assembly of bibliography and a summary of findings and points under discussion. Collection of statistics relating to changes in the structure of employment and the regional distribution of population in each country between 1950 and 1963, with special reference to migratory movements of European workers within countries and between countries. Assessment of the relative numbers of workers who have had to change their occupations for cyclical or structural reasons.
2. The determination, as far as possible, of explanations of the differences in mobility between countries, regions and sectors. The intention is to use proven methods: a questionnaire to certain firms in the major countries, and interviews with managers and trade union representatives on the points that the questionnaire cannot completely answer.
3. The last step will be to consider the national or international politics (for example, in the framework of bilateral agreements or of the E.E.C.) that have facilitated or impeded those adaptations in manpower indispensable in the conditions of contemporary production. It is hoped to set up the general lines of economic and social legislation that a modern and highly-developed state ought to adopt if it wishes to achieve the best qualitative and quantitative deployment of manpower.

It was hoped that the work would be completed before the end of 1964.

The Council of Europe

Mr. Franco Marziale(1) described some of the activities of the Council of Europe in connection with mobility. This was the special concern of the Special Representative of the Council of Europe for National Refugees and Surplus Population, who had been initially charged by the Committee of Ministers with the task of urging governments and competent organisations to take measures to promote a solution of problems of surplus population and refugees in Europe. Since the problem of refugees had been resolved, the activities of the Special Representative, for the past four years, have been directed to the problem of the balance of population.

He had at his disposal a Committee of Advisers consisting of high officials specialising in this field; the Council of Europe's Fund for Resettlement for helping European Member countries to solve problems of integration of workers and their resettlement in European countries other than their own or outside Europe. Though these activities are internationally orientated, some of them have applied equally to internal geographical and occupational mobility.

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(1) Population and Vocational Training Division, Council of Europe.

The results of an inquiry on the location of centres for occupational development in Europe will be published in 1964. In another study, the advantages and disadvantages of geographical and occupational mobility have been considered. From these, it appears that:

1. The ratio of occupied population to total population has a tendency to rise as a function of development in a given region;
2. The introduction of an immigrant into the labour force of a region may have the multiplier effect of an investment if the following conditions are realised: it corresponds to the needs of the market; he takes a job that would otherwise have remained vacant; his wage and social insurance do not exceed his production.

In contrast, geographical mobility may have unfavourable effects in regions where population growth is slow, raising the percentage of older people in the population and adversely affecting modernisation of equipment and productivity.

Since 1956, the Special Representative has initiated a series of programmes that have contributed to the structural improvement of certain countries. Loans were made at reasonable rates of interest for the financing of programmes of development for economically backward regions, and particularly for housing for workers or migrants. In 1957, the fund helped to finance the construction of rural housing, a reception centre and in the resettlement of 100 families in Turkey, to the extent of $400,000; in 1961, it gave assistance in building a social centre for the workers of a petro-chemical works at Gela (Sicily) to the extent of $5,000,000, and, in 1963, in housing for Cypriot workers for $400,000. The Fund has further promoted the construction of housing for Italian workers in France and has contributed $2,100,000 to the housing of Italian immigrants in Australia.

The Agricultural Commission of the Consultative Assembly has also studied geographical and occupational mobility, in connection with rural exodus and the abandonment of the countryside. In 1962, a report was presented to the Consultative Assembly on new industrial uses for agricultural products, with a view to retarding this negative mobility. The report suggested the creation of small industries, in the form of co-operatives, to exploit agricultural products. Thus excess manpower of certain agricultural regions may be converted to industrial manpower, re-employed in the same places and thus permitted to retrain its connection with rural life.

Every two years, the Council of Europe convenes a European Conference of Local Authorities and has conducted an inquiry into the opinions of local representatives on the principal problems of geographical and occupational mobility of manpower.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE PARTICIPANTS

The increasingly rapid rate of change in the occupations and location of industry in the expanding modern world, demands efficient and adequate programmes for facilitating the occupational and geographical mobility of the working population.

The attainment of the national economic and social targets, essential objectives of an active manpower policy, will probably require the establishment in each country of facilities, services and benefits to ease the shift in employment.

The economic gains for this programme will not only be higher productivity but also the movement of people to jobs and places where they are needed. The personal gains will be the reduction of costs to the individual to the minimum, with the greatest number of people enjoying further advancement through such mobility. The social gains will be the development of a tolerance and acceptance of change, which will inspire confidence and support for industrial advance. Individuals will then find the pursuance of their personal interests to coincide with the greater public good.

Geographical mobility has been found necessary in less-developed regions and is essential in depressed industrial areas where programmes for development may take time to be effective, and to absorb the surplus labour supply. Where individual or group migration occurs or is found necessary, preparation and counselling of the individuals can help them select the areas of promising opportunities. Assistance, both financial and other would facilitate the movement and minimise the human costs, the establishment of appropriate reception facilities will accelerate positive adjustment in new communities. Adequate housing in receiving areas would do much to relieve the problems of newcomers. Information on employment opportunities in areas to which people are shifting would do much to reduce wasteful movement.

Individual promotion and efficient performance in modern industry require adequate schooling and vocational training of people at all levels of employment. The rising age of compulsory education and the expanding proportion of national income devoted to education are vital to economic and social progress. The school curriculum and the preparation for work life should be redesigned for modern industrial and urban living. The upgrading of the education of the employed and and unemployed adult population is vital to increase their power of adjustment to the changing occupational patterns in industry. The volume and quality of vocational retraining should be adequate to satisfy the needs of human advancement and expanding industrial requirements.

While the basic educational and vocational facilities must be financed from public funds obtained through levies directly on industry or the general revenue, management and unions have a responsibility for providing supplementary vocational education to improve the adaptability of the population. The social partners can be helpful by their advice in keeping all occupational educational processes in harmony with a balanced labour market.

(The unions consider on their part that ways should be found to maintain the equities acquired by employees in their previous jobs and occupations.)

Advanced planning for the adjustment of the working population to the economic and technical changes by public authorities in co-operation with management and unions and by the social partners themselves, will contribute, as the case studies at this seminar have shown, to the smooth movement of people to new occupations and places. Facilities and services will then be more promptly instituted when the needs arise. The movements of the existing personnel to new occupations can then be carefully arranged and thus inspire confidence among the people in the continuity of employment and income for workers, both essential to a productive work force.

Studies of the deterrents to labour mobility, such as have been undertaken in some countries represented, will improve the aids to such movements. The continued examination of the characteristics of the changing occupational patterns will help in vocational guidance and counselling and educational and curriculum development.

Appendices

REPORTS PREPARED FOR THE SEMINAR

Appendix 1

GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY OF MANPOWER

by
Guy Routh
University of Sussex

Between the wars, most industrial countries were conditioned to a slow and intermittent rate of economic growth, interspersed with periods of stagnation or decline. The manpower problem was to find remedies for unemployment. Since the war, economic progress has been much more consistent; in most countries it has been retarded from time to time by shortages of various sorts of skills and in others has been so rapid that the reserves of manpower that ten years ago were a social and political embarrassment have been greatly depleted or exhausted. The problem is now not so much to find jobs for men as to find men for jobs; with labour as a comparatively scarce resource, we have to choose between a number of possible ways of using it. In part, this involves a question of how it is to be used (occupational and/or industrial mobility) and in part, a question of where it is to be used (geographical mobility).

Even when, in a country, unemployment is in excess of that occasioned by movements between jobs (transitional unemployment), labour shortages still not infrequently co-exist with this general excess supply; men cannot be matched to jobs either because they are in the wrong place relative to one another or because the skills offered do not fit those required. If the vacancies could be filled, then economic growth would be accelerated and general unemployment reduced.

One difficulty we have to face is the pervasive belief that there is an automatic mechanism that looks after these things: that demand and supply will be brought into equilibrium by the intervention of price(1). More recently, the view has gained currency that it is not differences in pay but a simple expansion or contraction of job opportunities that occasions movements of manpower. After examining inter-industry movements in the United Kingdom for the years 1951 to 1956, W.B. Reddaway concludes, "There is clearly some force which produced the big changes in the distribution of labour, and there seems no reason to look beyond the 'obvious' one, which we have christened job opportunities. Nobody need regret the fact that substantial changes in the distribution of labour can be secured in response to changing demands without the need for 'corresponding' changes in the wage-pattern, which would be hard to secure"(1).

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(1) I.M.D. Little complained of some high government officials not that they have too little regard for economic theory but that they were inclined to place reliance "on some old and over-simple theory, picked up from somewhere or other". "The Economist in Whitehall", in "Lloyds Bank Review", April 1957.

It should be noted that there is a significant difference between Reddaway's "force" and that postulated by the price mechanics. The former is a simple probability process: the more jobs an employer has to offer, the more workers he will get; the price mechanism, by contrast, was supposed to fill jobs in order of economic priority, with the most productive jobs filled first and the least productive last or not at all. "In actual fact", writes Gösta Rehn, "there is no automatic mechanism that makes a rational re-adjustment very probable. Ironically enough, the individual most often is made aware of his need to re-adjust by being deprived of his means for re-adjustment; he becomes unemployed, or, in the case of a businessman, bankrupt. Financially and psychologically depressed, he is hardly in a position to make a sound decision regarding his most rational future place in the economy. Instead he takes the first job offered to him. He is, in effect, forced to function irrationally"(2).

Oddly enough, Adam Smith, who wrote of "natural forces" and the "invisible hand" was aware of regional differences of pay that persisted because of the immobility of workers. "Such a difference of prices, which it seems is not always sufficient to transport a man from one parish to another, would necessarily occasion so great a transport of the most bulky commodities, not only from one parish to another, but from one end of the kingdom, almost from one end of the world to the other, as would soon reduce them more nearly to a level. After all that has been said of the levity and inconstancy of human nature, it appears evidently from experience that a man is of all sorts of luggage the most difficult to be transported"(3).

Even when there is a movement of manpower on a massive scale, it does not follow that incomes will be reduced "more nearly to a level". Writing about the flow of population out of farming in the United States, D. Gale Johnson says, "During the decade now ending, the net migration from farm to non-farm areas has totalled almost 10 million persons out of a farm population of slightly more than 25 million in 1950. Despite so high a rate of out-migration, the return to farm labour has not risen relative to labour earnings in the rest of the economy. The natural increase of the farm population offset about two-fifths of the net migration. The resulting net reduction of the farm population has simply not been great enough to offset the combined effects of a rapidly increasing physical product per worker, low and declining income elasticity of demand for farm products, and the low price elasticities of demand for farm output"(1).

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(1) "Wage Flexibility and the Distribution of Labour", in "Lloyds Bank Review", October 1959.

(2) "The O.E.C.D. Observer", 15th November, 1962.

(3) "The Wealth of Nations", Book I, Chapter VIII.

Conscious of the inadequacies of the old theories, many economists and sociologists have done field work for the collection of data on which a better understanding of the reality might be based. Charles A. Myers summarised the results of these studies in the United States:

1. Young people seeking their first job and workers looking for new jobs seldom make a systematic search of available job opportunities. They usually take the first job offered. They hear of jobs most frequently through friends and relatives employed in the plant, or through random and haphazard visits to plant employment offices. The public employment service is frequently a last resort for unemployed workers who cannot find jobs in other ways and for employers with jobs remaining unfilled through other recruitment channels.

2. Between two-thirds and three-fourths of employed workers remain with their employer throughout a year or even a longer period. Thus, the majority of employed workers are not really in the labour market in the sense that they are looking for better opportunities elsewhere. In periods of unemployment the proportion changing jobs voluntarily is considerably less than one-fourth or one-third.

3. Workers who leave one job voluntarily for another do not usually have another job in mind. They may leave in the expectation that they can find a beeter job, but their knowledge of available alternatives is apt to be sketchy and their search haphazard. If there is any 'shopping around' for jobs, it comes through this sort of job shifting early in the worker's career, rather than through the careful weighing of alternatives available at the moment.

4. Workers who move voluntarily for other jobs tend to be young, unmarried, short service workers, frequently women, as compared to those who stay on the job or are forced to move by lay-offs.

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(1) "Policies to Improve the Labour Transfer Process", in "American Economic Review", May 1960.

5. When workers do move, they tend to make industrial shifts more frequently than occupational shifts, although this varies with the character and diversification of the local labour market. In a textile city, for example, employer shifts without change in industry or occupation may predominate. In other communities there may be relatively more movement within sub-markets of comparable firms, or between geographically adjacent firms in dissimilar industries.

6. The voluntary movement which occurs does not seem to equalise the 'net advantages' of different jobs. The well paying jobs are frequently also in firms where other job conditions are also superior, and the ability of workers to move from poorer jobs to better jobs is often limited by employer agreements not to 'pirate' labour, union seniority rules, promotion from within policies, and restrictive employer hiring policies. These limitations tend to weaken, however, during periods of extreme labour shortage.

The overall impression of local labour markets which emerges from these studies then, is one of considerable haphazard and apparently purposeless movement, many imperfections, and a weak link between mobility and the equalisation of net advantages in different jobs. Most movement appears to be induced by the decline in job opportunities in one plant (or occupation, industry or region) and the availability or expansion of job opportunities in another, rather than by wage differentials as such(1).

This confirms the impression of weak economic motivation described by Lloyd G. Reynolds in an earlier study: "Movement between areas, like movement between employers, typically is of negative origin. It stems from a lack of adequate economic opportunity in one's present location. For farm boys, this means primarily lack of opportunity to own or rent a farm. For urban workers, it means primarily unemployment. Once an individual's attachment to his home area has been disrupted in this way, his direction of movement seems to be determined largely by distance, by personal relationships, and by availability of jobs... People tend to move to places in which they have relatives or acquaintances, provided the reports sent back by their friends are reasonably favourable(2).

I do not wish to multiply unnecessarily the testimonies on this point, but should like to quote two more studies. The one is based on a very careful statistical study relating to the British coal mining industry in the early fifties, from which T.P. Hill concluded,

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(1) "Labour Market Theory and Empirical Research", in "The Theory of Wage Determination", ed. John T. Dunlop (London, Macmillan, 1957).

(2) "The Structure of Labour Markets": "Wages and Labour Mobility in Theory and Practice" (New York, Harper & Bros., 1951), page 242.

"... the contribution made by wages to the explanation of recruitment and wastage over and above that made by other factors, notably location, is generally alarmingly small... (This study) suggests that, in general, an individual firm can hardly rely with much confidence on raising wages as a means of reducing wastage or, a fortiori of increasing recruitment"(1).

Larry A. Sjaastad concluded from a study of inter-state migration in the United States that there was ome connection between migration and income levels, but found "that during the 1940's the earnings level in a particular state would need to be roughly one-half the national average in order for migration from that state to offset completely the natural increase, thus leaving a static population"(2).

I have dwelt on this negative aspects at some length because I believe it is important to approach the subject of mobility without the sort of theoretical preconceptions that a reading of economic theory conveys to the unwary. As we shall see later, the empirical studies of the last ten or fifteen years show mobility to be a highly complex social phenomenon that does not fit comfortably into the framework of any one academic discipline.

Measures of immobility

To what extent does the mobility of manpower fall short of the optimum required to maximise economic and social welfare? In part, the supply of labour, in space and in types of skill, must adapt itself to current techniques of production and industrial structure; in part, there must be a complementary adaptation of techniques and industrial structure to labour supply. In underdeveloped countries, progress is impeded by a shortage of craftsmen and technicians; but fewer craftsmen and technicians are needed because human muscle can be used to do the work of bull-dozers and scoops. Employers and workers adapt their expectations to what they believe to be practicable; if all unfilled vacancies were filled, this in itself would change employers' notions in this respect and they would be encouraged to ask for more of the sorts of labour (in skill or place) which they have previously had little hope of finding(3).

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(1) "Wages and Labour Turnover", in "Bulletin of the Oxford University Institute of Statistics", May 1962

(2) "The Cost and Returns of Human Migration", Supplement of the "Journal of Political Economy, October 1962.

(3) In an investigation into the choice of jobs by 14- or 15-year-old school boys in a working-class area of London in 1954, I found an identity between aspirations and expectations: they wanted the sort of job that they expected to get because of a mental rejection of the possibility of getting any other.

With this qualification, the number of unfilled vacancies in any country may be taken as a measure of immobility of all sorts(1). Sometimes, of course, there are more unfilled vacancies than there are registered unemployed in certain countries, and it is then the number of unemployed that gives a measure of the effect of mobility: they are out of jobs not because jobs do not exist, but because they are in a different place or because they do not possess the right skills. In either case, the discrepancy measures a failure of adaptation. Table 1 gives figures for unfilled vacancies and unemployment in nine European countries in the four quarters of 1962.

Table 1

Unfilled vacancies and unemployment in selected Western European Countries

Monthly averages: thousands

		1962			
		I	II	III	IV
Austria.......	Unfilled vacancies	41.2	53.1	49.5	40.2
	Unemployed	117.7	41.7	32.7	70.6
Belgium.......	Unfilled vacancies	13.3	17.2	16.9	15.6
	Unemployed	74.6	41.5	34.4	39.4
France........	Unfilled vacancies	43.2	56.1	52.4	72.9
	Unemployed	117.3	90.9	120.6	172.6
Western Germany.......	Unfilled vacancies	546.7	583.5	593.5	470.7
	Unemployed	238.3	102.6	83.7	144.2
Netherlands...	Unfilled vacancies	111.5	130.9	135.3	110.8
	Unemployed	36.0	22.7	26.7	35.6
Norway........	Unfilled vacancies	3.5	5.2	4.0	2.7
	Unemployed	23.0	11.3	5.9	20.4
Sweden........	Unfilled vacancies	39.5	51.1	45.8	39.3
	Unemployed	33.8	22.6	15.0	21.6
Switzerland...	Unfilled vacancies	6.1	6.5	6.2	5.2
	Unemployed	1.1	0.2	0.2	0.9
United Kingdom.......	Unfilled vacancies	218.6	245.1	226.2	165.1
	Unemployed	493.4	457.2	477.5	537.4

Source: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, "Economic Survey of Europe in 1962", Table 8.

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(1) The coverage of statistics of vacancies and unemployed depends generally on the extent to which employers and employees use state-sponsored employment services.

In aggregate, about a million vacancies exist in the countries listed in Table 1, coincident with over a million unemployed. Not only must the unemployed and their families (when they have them) be maintained by public funds, but the products that they might be making are irrevocably lost. It is obvious that the cost, in unemployment pay and product foregone, is very high(1) - at a guess, between one and two billion dollars a year.

Variations in the levels of unemployment between different regions in a country give an indication of the strength of geographical immobility. Regional contrasts in unemployment exist in most countries though, paradoxically, they obtrude themselves on the national consciousness as a rule when general unemployment is high in the country, that is at a time when it seems that little can be done to remedy regional differences. But the highness of the tide does not mean that the rooks have been removed. A more liberal flow of manpower to growth areas, as they have come (ungrammatically) to be called, in times of high economic activity would hasten growth in those areas and thus diminish the impact of the ensuing recession. The whole economy would be healthier and more resistant to depression. This is particularly so because of the chain reaction to the filling of vacancies: the employment of operatives is delayed because of a shortage of managers or foremen or maintenance craftsmen to service the machines; plans for expansion are delayed because of a shortage of draughtsmen; for a new product, because of a shortage of chemists or engineers. The filling of one set of vacancies would thus automatically result in the creation of more. Thus a flow of manpower from regions of high unemployment to regions of lower unemployment would not merely have the effect of narrowing the inter-regional range while leaving the average unchanged, even if the change took place in a period of comparatively low economic activity.

Regional variations in the United States have been described as follows(2):

> "The incidence of unemployment is also heavier in some geographical regions or labour market areas than in other sections of the country. In December 1962, for example, 41 of the 150 major labour market areas regularly classified by the Department of Labor were listed as having relatively substantial unemployment. Thus the incidence of joblessness was significantly above or below the national totals in about one-third of the major labour market areas.

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(1) Higher, for instance, than the total of European aid to the underdeveloped countries.

(2) O.E.C.D. Reviews of Manpower and Social Policies, "Manpower Policy and Programmes in the United States" Paris, 1964, page 39.

> Many of the 41 major areas with substantial unemployment have had persistent unemployment problems for several years; in some instances, these areas have been characterised by high unemployment levels for over a decade in periods of overall national prosperity, as well as during the four post-war recessions....."

The persistence of these regional differences is illustrated in Table 2, which shows the registered unemployment (in numbers and percentage rates) for various regions in the United Kingdom in 1954 and 1962. Development is retarded in 1954 in some regions because of an acute shortage of labour, so that general unemployment is higher in 1962 than it might otherwise have been.

Table 2

Registered unemployed in the United Kingdom
Analysis by Region

	1954		1962	
	000	%	000	%
London & South Eastern	51.7	1.0	72.2	1.3
Eastern	13.2	1.2	35.3	1.4
Southern	11.2	1.1		
South-Western	15.8	1.5	22.5	1.7
Midland	12.3	0.6	56.8	1.6
North Midland	8.6	0.6		
East & West Ridings	17.1	0.9	36.5(*)	1.7(*)
North-Western	44.2	1.5	76.8	2.6
Northern	28.3	2.3	49.3	3.8
Scotland	59.5	2.8	83.1	3.8
Wales	22.9	2.5	30.7	3.1
Northern Ireland	33.0	7.0	36.7	7.5

(*) From 1st April, 1962, Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, before which Lincolnshire inc. with North-Midland.

Source: Statistics on Incomes, Prices, Employment and Production, No. 5, June 1963 (London, Ministry of Labour).

Measures of mobility

When seen in a certain perspective, mobility shows itself inadequate to achieve certain economic objectives. Powers of adaptation are not strong enough to eliminate serious differences between regions nor to give those who are seeking jobs the qualifications looked for by those who are seeking workers. The impression gained from many of the empirical studies (that I shall review later on) is a reluctance by workers to move even when facilities are offered to make the move easy. And yet we know, from the statistics, that a great deal of movement does take place. One indication of this is the degree of labour turnover(1). In the United States, the number who take and leave jobs each year is equal to almost half the entire number of employees. Monthly engagements in 1961 averaged 4.1 per cent of those on payrolls, while monthly separations averaged 4.0 per cent. Of the latter, rather less than a third were "quits" or resignations by employees(2). In Britain turnover in manufacturing industries involves between 30 and 40 per cent of the labour force each year(3). In France movement is more moderate, but still involves about a fifth of the labour force(4).

Inter-regional migration, which accounts for part of this turnover, is also on a considerable scale. For the United States, the Bureau of Census reports:

> "Almost three quarters (73 per cent) of the population 20 to 29 years old in April 1960 had moved at least once since April 1955, according to figures compiled from the 1960 Census. As age increased beyond 30 years, this percentage of movers decreased to a low of about 27 per cent in the age group 75 to 79 years, and then increased slightly among the very old."

Of the whole population, 47 per cent had moved at least once in this period, 30 per cent having changed residence within counties and 17 per cent between counties. Of a total population of 159 million five years old and over in 1960, 27.8 million had lived in a different county in 1955. Of these, 13.7 million lived in the same State in 1960 as in 1955. Of those who had lived in different States:

% of total	
1.8................	2.8 million had lived in the North-East
2.5................	3.9 " " " " " North Central
3.1................	4.9 " " " " " South
1.5................	2.4 " " " " " West
1.3................	2.0 million had lived abroad(*)

(*) United States Census of Population 1960, United States Summary, Detailed Characteristics, page xv.

In Britain, these inter-regional flows are indicated by the change in numbers of employees between 1950 and 1961 in the various regions. These are shown in Table 3.

In the United States and Britain, natural increase in the major regions is great enough to prevent the running down of regional population; in France, in recent years, this has not been so and the depopulation of certain departments has caused considerable anxiety(1). Analysing the rsults of the 1962 Census, Roland Pressat writes(2):

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(1) This would embrace all forms of mobility except occupational mobility within a single firm.

(2) See "Monthly Labour Review", statistical supplement.

(3) Figures are published monthly in the "Ministry of Labour Gazette".

(4) See Philippe Madinier, "La mobilité du travail aux Etats-Unis et en France", in "Revue Economique", July 1959.

The chart of net immigration is completely different from the chart of natural growth. The 43 emigration departments which, together, have lost 437,500 inhabitants, are situated principally in the West (Bretagne, Basse-Normandie...), in the Massif Central and the agricultural zones of the North and the East. In relative value, this emigration generally represents from 2 per cent to 6 per cent of the 1954 population. However, it reaches 7.7 per cent in the Cantal, 8.2 per cent in Mayenne, 9 per cent in the Manche. The 46 departments with net immigration (total increase: 1,773,800 inhabitants), are important urban centres whose development we will see later. In relative value, immigration is particularly heavy in the Paris region, in the departments bordering the Mediterranean, in certain departments

Table 3

Regional changes in numbers of employees in Great Britain
1950-1961

Region	Number of employees, 1961 (Thousands)	Change in number of employees, 1950-1961	
		(Thousands)	Per cent
London and South-Eastern...	5,670	597	12
Eastern and Southern	2,436	439	22
South-Western.............	1,266	143	13
Midland....................	2,238	246	13
North-Midland.............	1,565	159	11
East and West Ridings......	1,885	76	4
North-Western.............	3,003	94	3
Northern..................	1,302	60	5
Scotland..................	2,155	37	2
Wales.....................	970	31	3
Great Britain	22,490	1,900	9

Source: Ministry of Labour. See also "Regional Employment and Unemployment, 1951-1962", Bulletin for Industry, No. 159 January, 1963 (Information Division of the Treasury).

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(1) And led J.F. Gravier to entitle his book "Paris et le désert français".

(2) "La population française au recensement de 1962. Premiers résultants", in "Population", October, December 1962, page 637.

of the South West, of the Rhône-Alpes region, and in the Doubs and the departments of Alsace-Lorraine.

On the face of it, there seems to be something purposive and logical about these movements. Certain areas are loosing popularity amongst employers and employees, who are deserting them for more favoured areas.

This involves, particularly, a movement from the country and smaller towns to the conurbations and more particularly, to capital cities. It is there that wages are highest, that promotion is fastest for white collar workers, that business contacts are most easily established and maintained.

In fact, the statistics do not lend themselves to any such easy interpretation, for they are only the net result of massive movements in two directions. Net flows in the United States are from the south to the north and west, but of those living in the South in 1960, 883,000 had been in the North-East in 1955, 1,088,000 in the North-Central and 519,000 in the West(1).

In a study of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia based on records of 30,000 workers in 1953, the net emigration from the region was made up as follows:

Age	In	Out
Less than 30...............	488	559
30-49...............	352	462
40 and over	72	85
Total.....................	912	1,106

When the sample is divided between Negroes and non-Negroes, an additional pattern emerges:

	In	Out	Result
Negro......................	190	315	-125
Non-Negro..................	722	791	- 69
All........................	912	1,106	-194

The authors note a "sharp decrease of young Negroes, male and female, in the three-state labour force", yet even here this is compounded of the difference between 315 who left and 190 new arrivals(2).

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(1) "United States Census of Population", in "United States Summary", op. cit.

(2) Bunting, Ashby & Prosper, "Labour Mobility in Three Southern States", in "Industrial and Labour Relations Review", April 1961.

In Britain, likewise, the growth of the south and decline of west and north is the marginal result of considerable flows in all directions. These are analysed in Table 4.

A portion of the changes shown in Table 4 results from employees moving, in the course of the year, from employment on one side to employment on the other side of a regional boundary without the need for a residential move. But even with this qualification, an extraordinary amount of movement must take place. In the ten years to mid-1961, 3.3 million men and 1.4 million women made inter-regional moves of this kind.

How is all this coming and going to be interpreted? Is this the "considerable haphazard and apparently purposeless movement" of which Charles A. Myers writes in the study quoted above? Or is there a logic present which simply does not happen to fit into an economic framework? Some of the case studies that have been made in this field will help in the consideration of this question.

The determinants of mobility

In the United States, the Committee on Labour Market Research of the Social Science Research Council, in 1952, briefed Herbert S. Parnes to do "an intensive appraisal" of research done in the field of occupational, industrial and geographic mobility of labour during the preceding two decades. This was published in 1954(1). More recently (1960), the Industrial Relations Research Association has published a survey of the same field(2).

In the 1954 study, Parnes writes, "... the evidence indicates conclusively that job changes from one local market area to another are less frequent than those from one occupation or industry to another(3). In Reynolds' study of Newhaven workers(4) he found that while less than a fifth had never moved between major industrial groups and an equal proportion had never moved between major occupational groups, three fifths had not worked outside the community.

Parnes summarises these finding by saying that, though geographic mobility increases in time of war, the worker's strongest attachment is to his community. But, as might be expected, the professional worker, who is least mobile occupationally, is most mobile geographically. The evidence on the motive force of disparities of pay supports the

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(1) "Research on Labour Mobility", (New York, Social Science Research Council, 1954).

(2) "Employment Relations Research, a Summary and Appraisal", ed. Heneman and others, (New York, Harper & Bros., 1960).

(3) Page 76.

(4) Lloyd G. Reynolds: "The Structure of Labour Markets" (New York, Harper & Bros., 1951).

Table 4

Great Britain: Inter-Regional migration in the year ended June 1962

(in '000)

Region	MALES				FEMALES		
	Age	In	Out	Net gain or loss	In	Out	Net gain or loss
London and South-Eastern	15 - 44	112	101	11	60	55	5
	45 & over	30	31	- 1	13	13	-
	Total	142	132	10	73	68	5
Eastern and Southern	15 - 44	79	62	17	45	33	12
	45 & over	26	18	8	10	10	-
	Total	105	80	25	55	43	12
South Western	15 - 44	26	28	- 2	12	14	- 2
	45 & over	9	10	- 1	4	4	-
	Total	35	38	- 3	16	18	- 2
Midlands	15 - 44	48	53	- 5	22	24	- 2
	45 & over	10	15	- 5	5	5	-
	Total	58	68	- 10	27	29	- 2
Yorkshire and Lincolnshire	15 - 44	33	32	1	14	17	- 3
	45 & over	9	9	-	4	4	-
	Total	42	41	1	18	21	- 3
North Western	15 - 44	39	43	- 4	20	21	- 1
	45 & over	15	14	1	6	5	1
	Total	54	57	- 3	26	26	-
Northern	15 - 44	17	23	- 6	8	10	- 2
	45 & over	5	7	- 2	2	2	-
	Total	22	30	- 8	10	12	- 2
Scotland	15 - 44	18	27	- 9	9	14	- 5
	45 & over	3	5	- 2	1	3	- 2
	Total	21	32	- 11	10	17	- 7
Wales	15 - 44	19	21	- 2	7	8	- 1
	45 & over	5	4	1	1	1	-
	Total	24	25	- 1	8	9	- 1

Source: Ministry of Labour. See also article, "Age and Regional Analysis of Employees", published each June in the Ministry of Labour Gazette.

conclusions of Myers and Reynolds quoted above(1). In Parnes' words, "... to a considerable extent even workers who voluntarily change jobs are not really attracted by more desirable jobs elsewhere so much as they are 'pushed out' of jobs that they find unsatisfactory, and there is no assurance that they subsequently will find jobs better than the ones they leave. Most analyses of reasons for voluntary job changes imply a degree of 'calculation' that in fact does not exist"(2).

Other findings of the studies reviewed are:

Mobility and age: peak migration rates were found among workers aged 18 to 24 years, after which there was a steady decline in mobility.

Home ownership: it seems no great discovery to find that home owners are less prone to migrate than home renters. It is interesting to see Heneman's conclusion, though, based on an investigation in St. Paul in 1941 and 1942, that home ownership was associated with a halving of other sorts of mobility rate too(3).

Other correlates: it is perhaps unnecessary to stress that single men are more mobile than married men, but a study by Bogue indicates greater mobility amongst Negro men compared with white men, but less mobility amongst Negro than white women(4). Bogue's study also showed no difference in the proportions of men and women who change jobs within a local labour market, but a much higher proportion of men making moves between countries.

In the second volume mentioned (Employment Relations Research), the relevant chapter is again written by Parnes - "The Labour Force and Labour Markets". He notes a tendency for job movement in the United States to decline in the 1950's in comparison with the previous decade, though there remains a likelihood (on fragmentary evidence) that it remains considerably greater than in most European countries. This appears to be the joint result of more voluntary movement by workers and more lay-offs by firms(5).

The much smaller incidence of geographical mobility is again stressed. Wilcock is quoted to the effect that "property and personal ties rooted many to Mount Vernon (Illinois), despite unemployment, lower wages, and the necessity of making occupational and industrial shifts", while many of those who left said they would like to return, even at lower wages(6).

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(1) See above, section 3.

(2) Parnes, op., cit., pages 188-9.

(3) Parnes, page 123. Herbert G. Heneman, Jr., "Differential Short-Run Labour Mobilities: St. Paul, 1941-42", in Minnesota Manpower Mobilities (University of Minnesota, 1950).

(4) Donald J. Bogue: "A Methodological Study of Migration and Labour Mobility in Michigan and Ohio in 1947" (Scripps Foundation Studies in Population Distribution, 1952).

(5) Ibid., page 19.

(6) Richard C. Wilcock, "Employment Effects of a Plant Shutdown in a Depressed Area", in "Monthly Labour Review", October 1955.

In general, the tentative conclusions of the earlier study are reinforced.

Probably the best known of the American studies of this subject is Labour Mobility in Six Cities(1). The basic material consisted of ten-year work histories collected by the United States Bureau of the Census early in 1951 from workers in sample households in Chicago, Los Angeles, Newhaven, Philadelphia, St. Paul and San Francisco. The data was analysed by seven university research centres related to the six cities. 2,368,000 men and 1,123,000 women, all twenty-five years of age or over in January 1951, were included.

Philadelphia workers were least mobile in terms of job changes: 38 per cent of the men and 43 per cent of the women held only one job for the ten years. Los Angeles workers were the most mobile, with 23 per cent of the men and 24 per cent of the women having had only one job. The proportion reporting two jobs ranged from 22 to 28 per cent for the different cities, and those reporting three from 15 to 19 per cent. "Consequently, a few workers with very high numbers of jobs contribute a dispropritionate number of jobs to the total count and so increase the average number of jobs per worker"(2).

On geographical movement, Gladys Palmer writes: "... the survey data indicate that the migrants include larger proportions of professional workers than did the non migrants. Collateral evidence for Newhaven, Philadelphia, and Chicago indicates that 13 per cent of professional men made one or more employer shifts involving a distance of more than 50 miles..."

"Three fourths of all men in the six cities who had ever worked at a skilled job from 1940 to 1950 made no change of employer involving a distance of more than 50 miles"(3). The fact that a quarter had made such a change indicates that a substantial proportion of the labour force does in fact make job changes involving residential moves.

A subsequent work by some of the same writers, "The Reluctant Job Changer", mentions geographical mobility only obliquely. It is interesting to see the growing emphasis on job security. Tool and die makers, whose work attachments are studied by Carol P. Brainerd, show a notable decline in mobility over recent decades, particularly marked because their job changes tend to be voluntary(4). The Norristown workers studied in Chapter V by Mary W. Herman, show great interest in economic security, seeking a steady job and income(5). "Studies of American production workers ... show that, in spite of the relatively routine nature of some of the jobs performed and the lack of training required for them, most men tend to develop ties, to an occupation or to a company, that make it unlikely they will move frequently or randomly from one job to another"(1). Of particular interest is Gladys Palmer's describtion of job satisfaction: "A man feels satisfied if his job is steady or if he can handle it adequately without too much effort or responsibility, if he feels himself a good provider for his family, or if his relationships with fellow workers are harmonious. Skilled workers more frequently report a sense of satisfaction with the work itself and suitability for it"(2). It is the achievement of these rather modest aims that will make the worker reluctant to move, whatever the opportunities that may be emerging elsewhere. Also, because these qualities increase with tenure of a particular job, the longer a man has been in a job the longer he is likely to remain there.

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(1) "A Report on the Survey of Patterns and Factors in Labour Mobility, 1940-1950", prepared by Gladys L. Palmer (New York, Social Science Research Council, 1954).

(2) Page 39.

(3) Page 126.

(4) Palmer, Parnes, Wilcock, Herman and Brainerd: "The Reluctant Job Changer, Studies in Work Attachments and Aspirations", (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962, page 153).

(5) Ibid., 155.

Gladys Palmer summarises the findings relating to geographical mobility (or, more accurately, immobility) as follows:

The extent to which attachments to a company reflect attachments to a community is suggested but not precisely measured in these studies. Perhaps the desirability or undesirability of a community as a place to live depends on influence that have little relation to a man's perception of his risks or changes in case of lay-offs. The question tried in Springfield may not have been sophisticated enough to enable us to find out how much of an expressed reluctance to leave the company was caused by a strong attachment to the company per se. Our experience suggests that the relation of an individual's work attitudes and behaviour to his perceptions of the work opportunity structure in the labour-market setting needs more intensive probing. Attitudes to the community both as a "place to work" and as a "place to live" need to be analysed in studies of general population samples as well as in intensive studies of selected occupations or industries(3).

Another interesting feature, relative to geographical mobility, is brought out by Richard C. Wilcock in his write-up of the Springfield study in the same volume. We are familiar now with the fact that workers have only a very hazy idea of the occupational alternatives open to them; this applies to other places as well as to other jobs. Wilcock, however, comments on the hazy notion of the workers of Springfield as to what was going on in their own town. They liked living in Springfield but believed the town was suffering an economic decline, a belief that was paradoxically strengthened by articles in the press describing efforts to attract industry and bring about civic improvements. Organised labour, the Association of Commerce and Industry, municipal government and the big industrial firms were combined in the task, yet the general belief of the respondents was that no real effort was being made(1).

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(1) Ibid., 157.

(2) Ibid., pages 158-9.

(3) Ibid., page 159.

However, there does not seem to have been any exodus of workers in search of more enterprising communities, so that their objections may have been similar to those of the dissatisfied French workers whom Gladys Palmer was told about who, instead of moving to a better position, preferred to remain in the old one and continue to complain(2).

Leonard P. Adams and Robert L. Aronson made a study of the reactions of workers in Auburn, New York, to the closing down of the local International Harvester plants, and compared these with attitudes found in a sample of the general labour force in the same town(3). 58 per cent of the Harvester workers said they would be willing to leave the community to get other jobs, but in fact comparatively few knew of specific jobs elsewhere (5 per cent). "Most of them just had a feeling that there were jobs to be found in other communities. Few workers were able or willing to act on such slim grounds"(4). They summarise their findings on geographical mobility as follows:

> What factors are influential in deterring workers from changing their community or residence as well as their jobs? The most obvious and important one is, of course, the security and certainty of the present job. Few workers seemed willing to exchange the possibility of unemployment. After this general deterrent to a change of community, specific personal and social factors were apparently the most important barriers to geographic mobility. Some of these may have grown out of the jobs - for example, many social groups and ties were based on common employment. On the whole, however, these personal and social ties were ties to the community rather than to the place of work.
>
> In order of importance, the most frequently reported reasons for unwillingness to leave Auburn were friends and family ties, home ownership, and age, which is, of course, interrelated with the first two factors. This ranking is not appreciably different, whether the labour-force or the Harvester sample is used... Other factors, such as the educational opportunities available in the community or scenic and cultural advantages, were seldom cited as reasons for not moving(5).

The United States Bureau of Census have calculated the median age of those involved in various sorts of movements as shown in the returns of the 1960 Population Census(6). In the five years 1955 to 1960, 47 per cent of the population aged 5 or over in 1960 had moved house at least once. But of those in the age group 20 to 29, the percentage was 73. "The high rate of mobility among persons in their 20's is to a considerable extent a reflection of the fact, which is sometimes overlooked in the interpretation of migration data, that normally as children grow up they leave their parental home, marry, and establish homes of their own. The decline in mobility at the succeeding ages indicates, generally speaking, an increased social and economic stability in which a stake in a particular job and strengthening community ties militate against further mobility.... The people who lived in the same house in 1955 and 1960 had a median age of 41 years. People who lived in a different house in the same county in the two years had a median age of 30 years; those who migrated elsewhere in the same state, 27 years (the same as those who migrated to a different state)."

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(1) Ibid., pages 164-5.

(2) "Contrasts in Labour Market Behaviour in Northern Europe and the United States", in "Industrial & Labour Relations Review", July 1960.

(3) "Workers and Industrial Change - A Case Study of Labour Mobility", (Cornell University, 1957).

(4) Op. cit. pages 97-8.

(5) Op. cit. page 98.

(6) "United States Census of Population 1960", in "United States Summary Detailed Characteristics, Final Report", page xv.

The most ambitious study outside the United States was that published by the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1956(1). This was a collective effort of research institutes in the six Member countries of the Community. Interest was focussed on the deployment of labour because of shortages of labour for heavy industry, especially in Germany and Belgium, together with a surplus of workers in certain areas. The movement of iron and steel firms in Italy to improve their location and the shut-down of pits in certain parts of France and Belgium had raised difficult problems relating to mobility.

The reports for each country collect case studies that give a useful picture of the problems connected with mobility. The findings are, in fact, remarkably similar to those reviewed above for the United States. Younger workers are more willing to move than older ones so that, for example, of the wage earners who transferred from the Renault plant at Billancourt to that at Flins, the average age was 32, compared with an average of nearly 40 at Billancourt. Skilled workers are found to be less willing to move than labourers, because it is easier for them to get jobs locally.

A resistance to mobility is generally encountered, for people are attached to their family, their village, music clubs and "the corner cafe where they meet their friends". House (and, even more, farm) ownership strengthens unwillingness to move and so do hobbies or spare-time occupations).

The most powerful factor in determing mobility and immobility is housing and this is generally stressed in the national reports. The French report calls the housing shortage the most serious, most frequently criticised and the most obvious material obstacle to mobility. A job change from one region to another is impossible unless houses are available at the new place of work. In Belgium, too, housing difficulties are the main reason for refusing to move, while in the

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(1) "Obstacles à la mobilité des travailleurs et problèmes sociaux de réadaptation", Haute Autorité, Etudes et Documents (Luxembourg, 1956). The French and Belgian Studies were published separately.

Netherlands the progressive housing policy of the southern provinces is felt to be a possible cause of the increasing movement of workers to the south.

The report goes on to consider ways of encouraging mobility: workers must be made to feel that the choice is voluntary. In France, miners moving from the west to the east of the Nord/Pas-de-Calais coalfield were given a day off with pay by the Coal beard and were taken with their wives to villages in the east to choose building sites or houses.

The migrants must be treated as individuals with individual problems with which they must be helped. The Italian report lays stress on the need for accurate information about the new area, including information on wages and the cost of living. Organised migrations often encounter peculiar difficulties, the migrants expecting more to be done for them and being more demanding and less self-reliant.

Evidence is also given about difficulties encountered by migrants in settling down in their new environment. This is seen in its extreme case, of course, in international migration, but applies also to some extent to migration from one region of a country to another where regional differences may make it difficult for the migrants to settle down. The case is cited of Philips of Eindhoven who, having recruited girls from outside the local area, went to the extent of providing jobs for their fathers too, and building a housing estate for them, to make it easy for them to settle down.

The report leaves no doubt as to the complexities of the motives and mechanisms of migration and shows that great care, foresight and circumspection are necessary when movements are planned by employers or public authorities.

In 1962, the International Labour Office published a study of the adjustment required as a result of unemployment(1). Some of the material that I have mentioned above is reviewed here. The writers are concerned with all sorts of mobility, including particularly the mobility of industry, but make some mention of residential changes and the difficulties that this involves:

There remains the possibility that a move may be an alternative to unemployment... Perhaps more so than any of the other repercussions of structural adjustment, such a move means a very different degree of hardship for different people. ...many workers do elect to move in response to a structural change and in preference to unemployment. But others prefer to retain their old homes and endure prolonged unemployment. Apparently, leaving one's environment is looked upon by some as an even greater hardship than unemployment.

Yet, even for workers who choose to move, some considerable hardship may be involved, as shown by the declared preference of many such workers for employment in their former locality. Clearly, the hardships are, for the most part, non-pecuniary. They include difficulties connected with ensuring continuity in children's education, the possible break-up of the family, the nostalgia for familiar surroundings and, most important, the loss of friends, together with other social disturbances following a change of residence(1).

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(1) "Unemployment and Structural Change", International Labour Office, (Geneva, 1962).

With regard to the difficulties encountered in specific cases, the report says:

"... the conclusion arrived at by studies of actual instances of structural adjustment is that workers are usually reluctant to move their homes. Thus in Belgium, while the Campine coalfield might have absorbed miners from the Borinage, it proved difficult to persuade the latter to make the change. A study in the United Kingdom emphasizes "the reluctance of people to move their homes and their willingness to accept considerable sacrifices financially and in many other ways rather than move..."

After a United Kingdom company had decided to close one mill, "A party of loom tuners and their wives were taken by coach to visit another works in the same organisation in a different part of the country. They were provided with hotel accommodation and taken to see the works and surrounding district, in the hope that at least some of them would decide to take up employment there. Not one man accepted the offer". The French Government and the E.C.S.C. made provisions for the transfer of 5,000 miners about to be displaced from the Centre-Midi coalfield to Lorraine. When only about a tenth of these moved the plan was shelved. Moreover ... many workers who elect to move do so with great reluctance and even eventually return.

The correlation between duration of unemployment and the age of workers has been discussed... but it seems that no such relationship exists between length of unemployment and labour mobility. Of a group of unemployed workers in Manchester (New Hampshire) who had exhausted their unemployment benefit, only 4 per cent were later found to have moved to another locality. Similarly, in the United Kingdom it has been suggested, that, even when unemployment lasts many months, redundant workers will often try to avoid moving, and that willingness or unwillingness to do so may hardly be related at all to the time spent before finding a job. This is perhaps due in part to the fact that elderly workers tend both to have the longest spells of unemployment and to be the least willing to move(2).

Nevertheless, the study notes the existence of a great deal of mobility. Overall regional figures are quoted to illustrate this and then some specific cases: "... out of a group of workers dismissed in Mount Vernon (Illinois) 32 per cent moved elsewhere for jobs. After the closure of a United Kingdom company which was exceptionally remote from any industrial centre, as many as 46 per cent of the workers took up jobs beyond travelling distance from their former residence. Out of the 1953 labour-force in a particular United States labour surplus area, 18 per cent had migrated by 1955. Even some of the French miners displaced in the Centre-Midi coalfield did, after all, move to Lorraine"(1).

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(1) Op. cit., pages 59-60.
(2) Op. cit., pages 93-4.

The writers suggest that the effects of geographical mobility might be underplayed because it is measured against standards that are unreasonable. "It seems reasonable to assume that some minimum differential must exist between regional unemployment rates before net migration is 'triggered off'. On this score alone, it would be unrealistic to expect labour mobility to remove such differentials completely...

"Furthermore, although migration may leave unemployment percentages unchanged, this does not imply that, in terms of absolute numbers, there is no fall in unemployment; for an unchanged unemployment percentage of a dwindling labour force in an area affected by steady out-migration reflects a reduction in the number of those unemployed"(2).

The study also points out that workers who do leave an adversely affected area may not be the ones affected by a particular structural change, so that substantial inter-regional migration may not reduce long-period unemployment. Married women with children cannot go outside the districts where their husbands work. Older workers are especially loath to move and evidence from many countries shows that mobility is mainly a characteristic of younger workers.

The writers' comments on resettlement allowances will be referred to below.

In 1949, the United Kingdom Central Office of Information's Social Survey Division conducted an enquiry into the occupation experience of a large sample of people who were in employment between May and August of that year(3). It was found that geographical change was limited, in the main, to change from one town to another in the same region. Half the sample had worked in one town only throughout their working lives and a further quarter in two towns only. Only 21 per cent of men had worked in more than one region during their working lives.

Another investigation relating to the United Kingdom was reported by Margot Jeffrys in 1954(4). This related to movements between firms, occupations, industries and houses in two London suburbs - Battersea and Dagenham. Of interest in the present context is the finding that workers were much more prone to change jobs because they had found a suitable house than to move house because they had found a suitable job.

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(1) Op. cit., pages 95-6.

(2) Op. cit., pages 96-7.

(3) Geoffrey Thomas: "Labour Mobility in Great Britain, 1945-49", Social Survey Report 134 (roneo).

(4) "Mobility in the Labour Market", (London, Routledge, 1954).

It may be of interest, finally, to quote from an article by Arcadius Kahan on labour turnover in the Soviet Union(1). The major part of labour turnover was in the age group 18 to 30 and involved people with an average of 3 to 3½ years working experience. The reason most frequently presented for leaving a job was "departure to the place of residence of relatives". A third of the workers, in fact, gave family ties as the reason for leaving, 11 per cent gave low wages and 8 per cent lack of housing.

Summary and Interpretation

The motives for migration are numerous and complex; even when there seems to be a sound economic reason for moving, resistence is strong; yet the statistics show that a substantial amoung of movement takes place. Is this not paradoxical - does it not indicate a flaw in our researches or in their interpretation?

I have come to think that the origin of this paradox is in the *a priori* notions with which we have generally approached this subject. The cases studied have been ones in which there is a strong *economic* reason for migration - the shut-down of a plant, the decline of an industry regionally concentrated, low wages and lack of economic opportunity. The investigations have produced curious results - an apparent preference for low wages, limited opportunity, insecurity, unemployment, even when the authorities or employers have gone to considerabl trouble to make alternatives available.

Surely this suggests not that people are immobile but that the prime motives for moving are not economic. We have been misled: as so often happens in the history of ideas, we have reviled the prophet while accepting his doctrine, which is then uncritically installed as part of the corpus of common belief. In this case it is the materialistic interpretation of history that has led to too general a rejection of other interpretations.

So we look for mobility in man in his role as *manpower* and are surprised when he breaks the rules laid down for the behaviour of economic man. The truth seems to be that, though man sometimes moves in his role of economic man, more generally it is in his role of husband or father, a son returning to his family or escaping from his mother-in-law, or obeying one or more of the multitude of conscious or unconscious urges that make up human motivation.

And yet, it might be objected, in the aggregate migration does play an economic role; manpower does move from depressed to developing areas. The figures clearly show that this is so, however difficult it may be to catch him in the act.

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(1) "Monthly Labour Review", January 1962, from a Soviet study reported in 1961.

For this, I present the following hypothesis. At any moment, there are a large number of people who would rather be somewhere other than where they are. Their desires may fix themselves on a certain area or sort of area. They would like to live at the sea or in the mountains or near a river; in a big town or a small; near or far from relatives or friends; in some ancestral county and so on and so forth(1). But there are two over-riding necessities before effect can be given to these desires: a suitable job and a suitable house in the area of choice. If these two restraints did not operate, movement would of course be even freer than it is; but they perform the function, as it were, of a national sorting machine. While there are people who would like to move in any direction one might like to suggest, the possibility of movement will be greatest to those areas where available jobs are increasing and new houses are being built. As a result of a probability process, migration is then strongest towards areas of economic development, while those who wish to move in the opposite direction will have to wait longer before their opportunity occurs.

In this process, marriage acts as a catalyst, for then the young must leave home and set up house on their own. In that case, they might as well do it in the region of their choice - and the choice will probably be freer because their skills are likely to be more in keeping with modern job requirements.

Thus we might explain why people as individuals do not obey economic laws while in the mass they do and why geographical mobility is highest amongst those in their early twenties.

Can mobility be used to promote economic ends?

A better understanding of the migration process should enable governments and employers to use it to serve economic ends. Most governments do, in fact, operate a system of grants and allowances to help unemployed workers move to areas where they can get work. These arrangements are reviewed in the I.L.O. report Unemployment and Structural Change(2) and the O.E.C.D. is currently engaged in collecting information on the subject from Member governments. The British scheme, as is true of those in most other countries, "applies to unemployed men and women who have early prospect of obtaining regular employment in their home areas"(1).

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(1) I have some empirical evidence for this from a very small scale investigation in Brighton when, earlier this year, my students interviewed thirty-two families to find out why they had come to Brighton and/or why they remained there. There was an extraordinary diversity of reasons offered for having come, for remaining or for wishing to leave and obvious difficulty in assessing the merits of alternative courses of action.

(2) Cited above.

The results of these quite-generous schemes have been disappointing, probably for the reasons suggested by Gösta Rehn(2). The overcoming of the inertia that keeps a family in one place requires enthusiasm, optimism, a sense of purpose, which are at their lowest ebb in people who have lost their jobs and, in the words of the leaflet, have no early prospect of obtaining employment locally. And the greatest problem in areas of high unemployment is not the young man who is both most adaptable and ready to move, but the older unskilled worker who would most like to be left where he is.

British newspapers have had a number of articles on the unemployed since unemployment worsened in 1962. On 10th December, 1962, The Times reported on Northern Ireland. "One man in every six has no job in this Cinderella town of Northern Ireland. Men in Londonderry have always lived with unemployment. What this familiarity has bred is acceptance and the dispirited assumption that lack of work must be an unchanging and unchangeable fact of every man's life...

"'Your hands soon get soft', said Eamonn, who has had a good many more jobs than his 30 years. Ten years ago he left home and worked as a bus driver in Glasgow, a labourer in Lancaster, a fitter's mate in Corby, a factory hand in Birmingham. Back home in the Six Counties - 'Because I am an Irishman, why else?' - he lives with his wife and five children on Londonderry's Creggan estate; slightly to his surprise he has found a job, but in 12 weeks he thinks it will end.

"'Don't ask me what I shall do then; I'm going to pray', he said. 'No, my wife does not get upset about unemployment, she accepts it; and people do here because that's life. Anyway why should I take a job at less than ten pounds a week - that is what we get in benefit when I am unemployed. I can do odd jobs then without saying. I don't like fiddling, but when it is putting bread and butter in my children's mouths I'll fiddle every time'."

Similar stories come from other parts of the country, for example, the Moody family in West Hartlepool now that Mr. Moody has lost his job after sixteen years as a labourer in a foundry. Their income, for father, mother, a girl of 15 at school, and boys aged eight and three, is six pounds nine shillings a week unemployment pay supplemented by one pound eighteen shillings national assistance.

"If the north-east prospect is so bleak, why do the Moody's not move away for work, join the drift to the south? A moment's silence between the two reveals that the question has not gone undiscussed. 'Look at it this way', Mr. Moody answers. 'Both me and the wife were born and brought up here. We know it around here, and we've got our friends and relations'. He pauses, then adds with a note of bleak finality: 'And, anyway, do you know it costs thirty-seven pounds to send a van of furniture from here to London?'(1)

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(1) "Grants and Allowances to Transferred Workers", Ministry of Labour leaflet E.D.L. 123.

(2) See above, page 2.

The question of bringing industry to the unemployed is outside the scope of this paper and so too is the question of the education system which produces far too large a proportion of people fit only for unskilled work(2). On the problem of moving people to jobs, I suggest the following lines of study or action:

1. That an attempt should be made, in each country, to estimate the cost of immobility in terms of jobs left vacant coincident with unemployment, plus amount spent on unemployment insurance. It could, I think, be demonstrated that present failures of adaptation are extremely costly.
2. A similar estimate should be made of the economic cost of the housing problem insofar as it prevents the movement of manpower to areas of labour shortages; systems of priority should be formulated and adopted for families moving into areas to take jobs.
3. With all its difficulties, an attempt should be made to plan manpower moves before those concerned loose their jobs; then groups of affected workers should be persuaded to take the initiative in planning moves to an area with job opportunities, somewhat after the fashion of the co-operative housing projects coming into vogue in Britain.
4. Because people are suspicious of government officials, it might be desirable for the trade unions to take a more active part in promoting movements to developing areas. It would probably be found that it would pay to make much larger public funds available to aid movement, but the best agents to administer these funds might be the trade unions, though here again, as much initiative as possible must be drawn forth from the people concerned.
5. We know too little about migration, partly because we have been looking for it in the wrong places. The Ministry of Labour in Britain has initiated a large-scale enquiry into labour mobility which is being conducted by the Social Survey and which will produce a great deal of information about motives for movement and about the currents of migration that we perceive, rather dimly, in the aggregrate statistics. The

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(1) "The Times", 11th February, 1963, page 6.

(2) The contribution of education to economic growth has been stressed by the National Economic Development Council in the United Kingdom. See: "Conditions Favourable to Faster Growth", (London, H.M.S.O., April 1963).

Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques is planning a similar enquiry in France. It would be revealing if other countries were to follow suit, designing their enquiries to produce comparable results so as to deepen our understanding of mobility in general and the national peculiarities that are thought to exist in this respect.

Appendix 2

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF MANPOWER

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Introduction

To study manpower mobility is to study the changes of employment among workers who leave one firm in the course of a year to join another. These changes of employment are frequent in all economies, and research of this kind is exceedingly useful not only for determining a Government's economic policy but also for observing the reactions of employers and unions.

Experience has shown that poor mobility is a serious handicap in an expanding economy in which the structure and consequently the demand for labour is changing rapidly. On the other hand, too much mobility leads to instability of labour which may well prove an obstacle to a firm's efficiency. Research on current labour mobility trends and related problems is therefore necessary. There are, however, several approaches to the question.

A change of employment may be accompanied by a change of residence, sector or occupation, or it may merely mean a change of employer; the type of mobility is different in each case. In the first instance the mobility is geographical and in the others, occupational. The factors at the root of these different types of mobility and the problems they involve for government, employers and trade unions are quite different. The first case affects planning for the suitable siting of industry while the other two are bound up with reconversion and retraining policies. The last case is largely connected with current employment trends and the rate of economic expansion. The present report will be devoted to a study of the last three types.

The occupational mobility of manpower as just defined may be either spontaneous or organised. In the first case, it arises because the worker either wishes to leave his firm or is dismissed. In the second case the government or some other agency arranges for the move i.e. the worker does not leave of his own accord or through dismissal but under a programme of further vocational training for those who have to change jobs for economic or social reasons. Both cases represent occupational mobility because both involve a switch from one occupation to another, but the circumstances differ profoundly. This explains why the present report will make a distinction between the two types of mobility.

A preliminary chapter will discuss the trends and desirability of spontaneous occupational mobility. This section will include a study of the various factors involved and a discussion of the economic and social aspects of this type of mobility.

A second chapter will deal with the assistance afforded by government, employers and unions to spontaneous mobility and the efforts made to organise it. This will be an opportunity for giving a brief account of the different types of assistance and assessing their advantages and disadvantages.

TREND AND DESIRABILITY OF SPONTANEOUS OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

The first aim will be to ascertain the trend and, subsequently, the scale of occupational mobility in the O.E.C.D. countries, before considering its desirability.

1. Trend of spontaneous occupational mobility

Available statistics are rather limited. Only in the United States are systematic surveys of manpower movements regularly carried out.

Other countries have to rely on census figures to show changes in the distribution of population among the major economic sectors and the different occupations.

We shall use the statistics available in the United States for a particular year i.e. 1961, as well as some figures showing changes in the structure of the active population in two European countries, i.e. France and Great Britain.

The value of each of these sources of information as an aid to research on occupational mobility, the type of information they represent and the extent to which they can be used will be considered.

United States

United States statistics show the number of times workers have changed employers in the course of a year. A breakdown is given by sex, age, occupation, major occupation group, interval of time between two jobs and reason for the change.

The main points which emerge from Tables 1 to 8 are:

- 10 per cent of workers changed their jobs at least once in 1961. The figure is higher for men (11 per cent) than for women (only 8.6 per cent);
- The most mobile age groups are those between 18 and 24. Over a quarter of the men in these age groups changed jobs during the year. The rate of mobility naturally slows down with age for example, after 55, under 5 per cent of the age group is affected;
- Of those who changed jobs during the year, 37.3 per cent of men and 24.8 per cent of women changed jobs during the year. An age analysis of workers who had several jobs during the year shows no change in percentage. The figures are the same over the whole range of age groups;
- Half the men who changed jobs once went immediately from one job to another. The other half had an idle interval between jobs. For most workers, the break was less than 14 weeks. For 11 per cent, however, it was over 3 months despite the fact that they did not stop looking for a job. In the case of the women, the results are not so strikingly different although more of them seem to have stopped working of their own accord;
- A breakdown by age shows that among workers who remained unemployed for more than 3 months, the percentage of young people from 14 to 17 and older workers from 55 to 64 was higher than the percentage of workers in the intervening age groups;
- Men and women have quite different reasons for changing jobs. Illness, household duties and the conclusion of a period of temporary work explain why 50 per cent of women change jobs;

  In the case of men, one third of the changes was due to promotion and 37 per cent to dismissals, but this figure is only an average. The number of cases of dismissal increases with age, at least up to retirement. Dismissal explains 18 per cent of job changes among workers of 14 to 17 and 56 per cent of changes in the 55 to 64 age group.
- A breakdown of migration by occupation shows that mobility is all the higher in the less skilled categories. 16.4 per cent of unskilled workers and 15.2 per cent of agricultural workers and foremen changed their employment at least once in 1961 whereas 8.5 per cent only of professional and technical workers and the like left their jobs in the course of the year the highest percentage was among the least skilled workers.
- A study of the reasons for changing jobs is particularly valuable when skills are taken into account. It reveals that a desire for promotion often leads skilled workers to change jobs whereas promotion plays little part in the migration of unskilled workers.

Table 1

Percent change in population and estimated rate of net migration, by State, 1950-60

States with net immigration	Percent change 1950-60		States with net outmigration	Percent change 1950-60	
	Total population	Through net immigration		Total population	Through net out migration
Florida . . .	+ 78.7	+ 58.3	Arkansas. . .	- 6.5	- 22.7
Nevada . . .	+ 78.2	+ 53.8	West Virginia	- 7.2	- 22.3
Arizona . . .	+ 73.7	+ 44.0	Mississippi .	(1)	- 19.9
Alaska . . .	+ 75.8	+ 32.0	District of Columbia .	- 4.8	- 19.7
California. .	+ 48.5	+ 29.7	North Dakota.	+ 2.1	- 17.0
Delaware . .	+ 40.3	+ 20.1			
Maryland . .	+ 32.3	+ 13.7	South Dakota.	+ 4.3	- 14.4
Colorado . .	+ 32.4	+ 12.3	Kentucky. . .	+ 3.2	- 13.2
New Jersey. .	+ 25.5	+ 11.9	Alabama . . .	+ 6.7	- 12.0
Connecticut .	+ 26.3	+ 11.7	South Carolina	+ 12.5	- 10.5
New Mexico. .	+ 39.6	+ 7.7	Vermont . . .	+ 3.2	- 10.0
Ohio.	+ 22.1	+ 5.1	Oklahoma. . .	+ 4.3	- 9.8
Washington. .	+ 19.9	+ 3.7	Iowa	+ 5.2	- 8.9
Michigan. . .	+ 22.8	+ 2.5	Nebraska. . .	+ 6.5	- 8.8
New Hampshire	+ 13.8	+ 2.4	Tennessee . .	+ 8.4	- 8.3
Indiana . . .	+ 18.5	+ 1.6	North Carolina	+ 12.2	- 8.1
Texas	+ 24.2	+ 1.5	Maine	+ 6.1	- 7.2
Utah.	+ 29.3	+ 1.5	Idaho	+ 13.3	- 6.8
New York. . .	+ 13.2	+ 1.4	Wyoming . . .	+ 13.6	- 6.8
Illinois. . .	+ 15.7	+ 1.4	Georgia . . .	+ 14.5	- 6.2
Oregon. . . .	+ 16.3	+ 1.0	Pennsylvania.	+ 7.8	- 4.5
Hawaii. . . .	+ 26.6	+ 0.6	Montana . . .	+ 14.2	- 4.3
Virginia. . .	+ 19.5	+ 0.4	Missouri. . .	+ 9.2	- 3.3
			Rhode Island.	+ 8.5	- 3.3
			Minnesota . .	+ 14.5	- 3.2
			Kansas. . . .	+ 14.3	- 2.3
			Massachusetts	+ 9.8	- 2.0
			Louisiana . .	+ 21.4	- 1.9
			Wisconsin . .	+ 15.1	- 1.6

(1) Less than 0.05 per cent.

Source: "Estimates of the Components of Population Change by Colour, for States, 1950 to 1960", in "Current Population Reports", series P-25, No. 247 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census).

Table 2

Rate of job changing, by sex and age, 1961

Sex and age	Worked in 1961		
	Total (in thousands)	Persons who changed jobs one or more times	
		Total (in thousands)	Percent of total
Total	80.287	8,121	10.1
Male	49,854	5,509	11.0
14 to 17 years	2,926	261	8.9
18 and 19 years	1,946	457	23.5
20 to 24 years	4,507	1,101	24.4
25 to 54 years	30,806	3,319	10.8
55 to 64 years	6,768	271	4.0
65 years and over	2,901	100	3.4
Female	30,433	2,612	8.6
14 to 17 years	2,044	118	5.8
18 and 19 years	1,789	397	22.2
20 to 24 years	3,476	568	16.3
25 to 54 years	17,995	1,348	7.5
55 to 64 years	3,782	156	4.1
65 years and over	1,347	25	1.9

Table 3

Employment pattern of job changers, by sex and age, 1961

Employment pattern and sex	Total 14 years and over	14 to 17 years	18 and 19 years	20 to 24 years	25 to 64 years	55 to 64 years	65 years and over
Total job changers (in thousands). . . .	8,121	379	854	1,669	4,667	427	125
Male job changers:							
Number (in thousands)	5,509	261	457	1,101	3,319	271	100
Percent.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Worked at 2 jobs only.	62.7	70.1	64.6	62.8	62.1	59.0	65.0
Lost no work between jobs	31.5	28.0	26.3	30.2	34.0	20.7	22.0
Lost work between jobs	31.2	42.1	38.3	32.5	28.0	38.4	43.0
Did not look for work.	5.8	20.7	12.0	6.6	3.2	4.4	19.0
Looked for work. . . .	25.4	21.5	26.3	25.9	24.9	33.9	24.0
1 to 14 weeks.	21.8	17.2	24.1	23.2	20.9	29.2	20.0
15 weeks or more . . .	3.6	4.2	2.2	2.7	3.9	4.8	4.0
Worked at more than 2 jobs.	37.3	29.9	35.4	37.2	37.9	41.0	35.0
Female job changers:							
Number (in thousands)	2,612	118	397	568	1,348	156	25
Percent.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	(1)
Worked at 2 jobs only.	75.2	82.2	70.8	75.0	76.5	71.8	.....
Lost no work between jobs	30.7	29.7	28.2	32.7	31.2	28.2	.....
Lost work between jobs	44.5	52.5	42.6	42.3	45.3	43.6	.....
Did not look for work.	15.3	31.4	9.8	13.7	15.4	17.3	.....
Looked for work. . . .	29.2	21.2	32.7	28.5	29.8	26.3	.....
1 to 14 weeks.	25.7	21.2	32.2	25.9	24.7	23.1	.....
15 weeks or more . . .	3.5	..	0.5	2.6	5.1	3.2	.....
Worked at more than 2 jobs	24.8	17.8	29.2	25.0	23.5	28.2	.....

(1) Per cent not shown where base is less than 100,000.

Table 4

Reason for changing jobs, by sex and age, 1961

Sex and age	Total number of jobs left (in thousands)	Reason for leaving				
		Total	Job loss	Improvement in status	Termination of temporary job	Other reasons(1)
Total.	13,139	100.0	32.2	32.6	12.8	22.4
Male	8,986	100.0	37.5	33.7	10.9	18.0
14 to 17 years . .	445	100.0	18.2	20.0	30.9	30.9
18 and 19 years. .	846	100.0	27.0	30.9	14.5	27.5
20 to 24 years . .	1,912	100.0	32.0	33.5	11.6	22.9
25 to 54 years . .	5,137	100.0	41.1	37.5	7.6	13.8
55 to 64 years . .	451	100.0	56.2	18.1	14.6	11.1
65 years and over.	195	100.0	41.0	13.3	21.0	24.6
Female	4,153	100.0	20.6	30.1	17.1	32.2
14 to 17 years . .	201	100.0	13.9	14.4	32.7	39.1
18 and 19 years. .	691	100.0	18.2	31.0	17.0	33.8
20 to 24 years . .	926	100.0	17.5	29.9	17.7	34.9
25 to 54 years . .	2,039	100.0	22.4	32.9	13.6	31.0
55 years and over.	296	100.0	27.9	18.9	29.3	23.9

(1) Includes illness, household or responsibilities, fired,retired, other reasons, and reasons not reported.

Table 5

Employment pattern of job changers, by major occupation group of longest job and by sex, 1961

Major occupation group of longest job and sex	Persons who worked in 1961 (in thousands)	Persons who changed jobs in 1961					
		Number (in thousands)	Percent of persons who worked in 1961	Employment pattern			
				Total	Work.at 2 jobs only		Worked at more than 2 jobs
					Total	Lost work Between jobs	
Total	80,287	8,121	10.1	100.0	66.7	35.5	33.3
Male							
All occupation groups	49,854	5,509	11.0	100.0	62.7	31.2	37.3
Professional, technical and kindred workers	5,549	470	8.5	100.0	77.7	28.5	22.3
Farmers and farm managers	2,616	50	1.9	(1)	..	..	..
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	6,667	311	4.7	100.0	82.3	28.9	17.7
Clerical and kindred workers	3,435	311	9.1	100.0	76.8	41.8	23.2
Sales workers	3,003	391	13.0	100.0	70.6	29.7	29.4
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	9,007	1,194	13.3	100.0	54.5	29.5	45.5
Operatives and kindred workers	9,327	1,291	13.8	100.0	60.0	30.8	40.0
Private household workers	78	4	(1)	(1)	..	..	..
Service workers, except private household	3,476	420	12.1	100.0	63.8	35.2	36.2
Farm labourers and foremen	2,421	368	15.2	100.0	44.0	25.3	56.0
Labourers, except farm and mine	4,275	699	16.4	100.0	60.1	34.9	39.9
Female							
All occupation groups	30,433	2,612	8.6	100.0	75.2	44.5	24.8
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	3,547	294	8.3	100.0	81.3	49.3	18.7
Farmers and farm managers	160	3	1.9	(1)	..	..	..
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	1,318	72	5.5	(1)	..	..	..
Clerical and kindred workers	8,546	866	10.1	100.0	76.2	43.0	23.8
Sales workers	2,515	217	8.6	100.0	81.6	53.0	18.4
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	249	11	4.4	(1)	..	..	..
Operatives and kindred workers	4,134	362	8.8	100.0	71.8	38.4	28.2
Private household workers	3,358	122	3.6	100.0	75.4	52.5	24.6
Service workers, except private household	4,571	548	12.0	100.0	72.1	43.8	27.9
Farm labourers and foremen	1,865	99	5.3	(1)	..	..	..
Labourers, except farm and mine	170	18	10.6	(1)	..	..	..

(1) Per cent not shown where base is less than 100,000.

Table 6

Reason for changing jobs, major occupation group and sex, 1961

Major occupation group of job left and sex	Total number of jobs left (in thousands)	Reason for leaving				
		Total	Job loss	Improvement in status	Termination of temporary job	Other (1)
Total	13,139	100.0	32.2	32.6	12.8	22.4
Male						
All occupation groups	8,986	100.0	37.5	33.7	10.9	18.0
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	566	100.0	25.0	42.4	11.1	21.5
Farmers and farm managers	54	(2)	..	..	..	..
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	391	100.0	34.5	39.6	6.4	19.4
Clerical and kindred workers	440	..	..	..	..	..
Sales workers	599	100.0	18.1	43.8	14.8	23.3
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	1,934	100.0	17.2	54.8	8.2	19.8
Operatives and kindred workers	2,090	100.0	56.9	28.3	3.8	11.0
Private household workers	13	100.0	39.4	37.0	6.8	16.8
Service workers, except private household	702	(2)	..	..	..	..
Farm labourers and foremen	680	100.0	21.8	36.7	12.5	29.0
Labourers, except farm and mine	1,521	100.0	47.3	23.8	8.8	20.0
Female						
All occupation groups	4,153	100.0	20.6	30.1	17.1	32.2
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	368	100.0	16.8	23.3	23.6	36.3
Farmers and farm managers	..	..	..	..	..	..
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	89	(2)	..	..	..	..
Clerical and kindred workers	1,274	100.0	16.5	33.5	15.0	35.0
Sales workers	440	100.0	20.2	37.0	22.0	20.9
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	31	(2)	..	..	..	..
Operatives and kindred workers	623	100.0	35.6	27.1	9.5	27.9
Private household workers	213	100.0	25.8	32.9	10.8	30.5
Service workers, except private household	871	100.0	17.1	31.1	9.4	42.4
Farm labourers and foremen	207	100.0	7.2	9.7	72.9	10.1
Labourers, except farm and mine	37	(2)	..	..	..	..

(1) Includes illness, household and school responsibilities, fired, retired, other reasons, and reasons not reported.

(2) Per cent not shown where base is less than 100,000.

Table 7

Employment pattern of job changers, by major industry group, class of worker of longest job, and sex, 1961

Major industry group and sex	Persons who worked in 1961 (in thousands)	Persons who changed jobs in 1961					
		Number (in thousands)	Percent of persons who worked in 1961	Employment pattern			
				Total	Work.at 2 jobs only		Worked at more than 2 jobs
					Total	Lost work between jobs	
Total	80,287	8,121	10.1	100.0	66.7	35.5	33.3
Male							
All industry groups	49,854	5,509	11.0	100.0	62.7	31.2	37.3
Agriculture	5,367	486	9.1	100.0	49.6	26.5	50.4
Non-agriculture	44,487	5,023	11.3	100.0	64.0	31.7	36.0
Total wage and salary	38,821	4,778	12.3	100.0	63.5	32.1	36.5
Forestry, fisheries, and mining	724	115	15.9	100.0	52.2	29.6	47.8
Construction	3,893	972	25.0	100.0	45.3	25.9	54.7
Manufacturing	13,209	1,280	9.7	100.0	71.3	34.6	28.7
Transportation and public utilities	3,578	293	8.2	100.0	51.9	26.6	48.1
Trade	7,267	1,035	14.2	100.0	66.3	32.8	33.7
Service	7,528	910	12.1	100.0	71.3	35.3	28.7
Public administration	2,622	173	6.6	100.0	78.6	39.3	21.4
Self employed workers	5,485	232	4.2	100.0	74.1	24.1	25.9
Unpaid family workers	181	13	7.2	(1)	..	..	..
Female							
All industry groups	30,433	2,612	8.6	100.0	75.2	44.5	24.8
Agriculture	2,135	112	5.2	100.0	65.2	38.4	34.8
Non-agriculture	28,298	2,500	8.8	100.0	75.7	44.8	24.3
Total wage and salary	25,713	2,407	9.4	100.0	75.5	45.0	24.5
Forestry, fisheries, and mining	56	6	(1)	(1)	..	..	..
Construction	203	30	14.8	(1)	..	..	..
Manufacturing	5,046	431	8.5	100.0	71.9	41.5	28.1
Transportation and public utilities	940	85	9.0	(1)	..	..	..
Trade	5,766	688	11.9	100.0	73.3	46.5	26.7
Service	12,598	1,092	8.7	100.0	77.0	45.4	23.0
Public administration	1,104	75	6.8	(1)	..	..	..
Self employed workers	1,685	60	3.6	(1)	..	..	..
Unpaid family workers	900	33	3.7	(1)	..	..	..

(1) Per cent not shown where base is less than 100,000.

Table 8

Reason for changing jobs, by major industry group, class of worker of job left, and sex, 1961

Major industry group, class of worker of job left, and sex	Total number of jobs left (in thousands)	Reason for leaving				
		Total	Job loss	Improvement in status	Termination of temporary job	Other (1)
Total	13,139	100.0	32.2	32.6	12.8	22.4
Male						
All industry groups	8,986	100.0	27.5	32.7	10.9	18.0
Agriculture	849	100.0	16.9	23.7	43.7	15.6
Non-agricultural industries	8,137	100.0	39.6	34.7	7.5	18.2
Wage and salary workers	7,846	100.0	39.3	34.8	7.5	18.4
Forestry, fisheries, and mining	193	100.0	41.4	28.0	13.0	17.6
Construction	1,909	100.0	66.0	17.4	4.6	12.0
Manufacturing	1,897	100.0	41.9	36.8	3.7	17.6
Transportation and public utilities	426	100.0	33.7	33.5	9.1	23.7
Trade	1,822	100.0	26.7	43.9	7.3	22.1
Service	1,351	100.0	19.1	46.3	13.4	21.3
Public administration	248	100.0	25.0	31.5	20.6	23.0
Self-employed and unpaid family workers	291	100.0	47.8	32.0	7.6	12.7
Female						
All industry groups	4,153	100.0	20.6	30.1	17.1	32.2
Agriculture	222	100.0	9.9	9.0	68.9	12.2
Non-agricultural industries	3,931	100.0	21.2	31.2	14.2	33.3
Wage and salary workers	3,823	100.0	20.9	31.5	13.9	33.7
Forestry, fisheries, and mining	5	(2)	..	..	..	..
Construction	44	(2)	..	..	..	..
Manufacturing	739	100.0	35.3	29.6	7.2	28.0
Transportation and public utilities	134	100.0	12.7	14.2	17.9	55.2
Trade	1,182	100.0	19.7	33.6	14.2	32.5
Service	1,610	100.0	15.9	33.4	15.1	35.5
Public administration	109	100.0	13.8	21.1	36.7	28.4
Self-employed and unpaid family workers	108	100.0	34.3	21.3	23.1	21.3

(1) Includes illness, household and school responsibilities, fired, retired, other reasons, and reasons not reported.

(2) Per cent not shown where base is less than 100,000.

- A breakdown in job changes showing the major occupation groups in which the workers concerned were previously employed, is also particularly rewarding. It shows that jobs change most frequently in the building industry: 25 per cent of men employed in 1961 changed jobs at least once. These statistics reflect a very well known fact, i.e. the high mobility of building workers in all industrialised countries.

  On the other hand, manpower mobility in the agricultural sector is below the average for the nation as a whole; i.e. 9 per cent as compared with 11 per cent, despite the fact that a large part of agricultural work is seasonal.

  It is symptomatic that mobility is high in the commercial sector largely owing to the desire for promotion.

Such are the main features of manpower mobility in the United States.

Several remarks may be made about the value of these figures.

1. They convey quite a lot of information about the characteristics of workers who change jobs but say nothing about the nature of the change. It is impossible to tell when the worker has merely left his firm but not his occupation or major occupation sector or when there has been a change of major occupation sector but not of occupation (an electrician who switches from building to manufacturing industry, where he does the same job) or when there has been a change of occupation with or without a switch to another industrial sector.

Nor do the statistics give any information on the exact circumstances in which these changes of job occur. They give no details, for example, about any difficulties of adjustment that some workers may have encountered.

2. As the labour migration movements which have just been analysed are largely due to factors peculiar to the American economy, not all the conclusions to be drawn can be used for analysing occupational mobility in other countries. The question is to decide which factors are peculiar to a particular economy and do not necessarily arise in others.

It is difficult to enumerate them exactly but a few may be noted:

- The level of wages is an important factor in mobility as it affects the level of savings. Obviously, the higher the volume of savings, i.e., the higher the wages, the greater will be the tendency for a worker to change jobs as he will not have to fear being without resources if he does not immediately find another job;

- Similarly, the fact that an unemployment insurance system may pay a high rate of unemployment relief is a factor in manpower mobility.

- The rate of economic activity is also an important factor in mobility. Mobility will be much greater if demand for labour is lively;

- Population trends also play their part. If the active population is rapidly increasing, mobility will diminish even if the rate of economic growth is rapid, as there will be fewer opportunities for re-employment;
- The factors of social psychology are no less important; for example, job changing is undoubtedly more likely to secure approval in the United States than in European countries;
- Housing conditions are also a vital factor. In a country without housing problems, workers will change jobs much more readily. In France, however, a worker will frequently refuse a job offered to him in another firm because the latter is not in the district where he lives and cannot offer him accommodation.

3. Lastly it should be noted that the data analysed above relate to one year, i.e. 1961. There is no doubt that labour mobility is greatly influenced by current economic trends. Moreover, this influence works both ways. If current economic trends are favourable, workers have an incentive to change jobs as vacancies are numerous and wages are in most cases rising. If current economic trends are unfabourable, workers tend to keep the jobs they have; against this, however, firms may dismiss a percentage of their personnel.

In boom periods, skilled workers are probably more mobile than during a slump as there is a shortage of skilled workers and firms compete for them. In slumps, however, firms do everything to keep their skilled workers and are more inclined to sacrifice the unskilled.

This means that the figures cited for the American economy in 1961 must not be considered as representing labour mobility in the United States in all years.

Other countries

As stated in the introduction, statistics of labour mobility are limited in Europe. A survey was made in Great Britain in 1949 and is therefore quite out of date. It has now been resumed, but the results are not yet available.

Other data may be used, such as population census results. They show the changes made in isolated years in the distribution of workers among the major economic sectors and different occupations. These figures show labour mobility from a totally different angle and make it possible to compile a survey of occupational change.

The changes thus demonstrated in the pattern of employment are due not only to actual switches from one sector or one occupation to another, but also to the arrival of a new generation on the labour market. Although, in the interval between two censuses, many of the older workers have ceased to belong to the active population, the younger people who have arrived have not necessarily taken the jobs left by their elders. They have often moved into other occupational and other labour sectors.

Table 9

Occupational class distribution by industrial status, gainfully occupied population Great Britain

1911, 1921, 1931, 1951

Nos. in thousands

Occupational class	Industrial status	1911	1921	1931	1951
1. Professional A. Higher	Employers	-	25	38	34
	Own Account	-	36	44	44
	Employees	-	134	158	356
	All	184	195	240	434
	%	1.00	1.00	1.14	1.93
B. Lower	Employers	-	18	15	10
	Own Account	-	62	70	42
	Employees	-	675	643	1,007
	All	560	755	728	1,059
	%	3.05	3.89	3.46	4.70
2. Employers, Administrators, Managers A. Employers and Proprietors	Employers	763	692	727	457
	Own Account	469	626	682	661
	All	1,232	1,318	1,409	1,118
	%	6.71	6.79	6.70	4.97
B. Managers and Administrators	Own Account	21	29	30	31
	Employees	608	675	740	1,215
3. Clerical Workers	Own Account	-	1	2	3
	Employees	887	1,299	1,463	2,401
	All	887	1,300	1,465	2,404
	%	4.84	6.70	6.97	10.68
4. Foremen, Inspectors Supervisors	Employees	236	279	323	590
	%	1.29	1.44	1.54	2.62
Manual Workers 5. Skilled	Own Account	329	293	268	251
	Employees	5,279	5,280	5,351	5,365
	All	5,608	5,573	5,619	5,616
	%	30.56	28.71	26.72	24.95
6. Semi-skilled	Own Account	71	98	96	82
	Employees	7,173	6,446	7,264	7,256
	All	7,244	6,544	7,360	7,338
	%	39.48	33.72	35.00	32.60
7. Unskilled	Own Account	47	62	78	33
	Employees	1,720	2,678	3,034	2,676
	All	1,767	2,740	3,115	2,709
	%	9.63	14.12	14.81	12.03
All		18,347	19,408	21,029	22,514
%		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Table 10

Distribution of Occupied Population (Inc. employers, self-employed & unemployed) by industry

Nos. in thousands

		1911		1921		1931		1951		1959	
			%		%		%		%		%
I	Agriculture, etc.	1,499	8.4	1,372	7.3	1,257	6.1	1,132	5.0	969	4.1
II	Mining, etc.	1,128	6.3	1,305	6.9	1,166	5.7	861	3.8	844	3.6
III	Ceramics, glass, etc.	201	1.1	214	1.1	265	1.3	318	1.4	326	1.4
IV	Chemicals.	147	0.8	215	1.1	239	1.2	442	2.0	543	2.3
V	Metal Manufacture	509	2.8	562	3.0	524	2.6	579	2.6	558	2.3
VI	Engineering & Shipbuilding.	878	4.9	1,203	6.4	1,090	5.3	1,801	8.0	2,121	8.9
VII	Vehicles	291	1.6	375	2.0	402	2.0	1,009	4.5	1,246	5.2
VIII IX	Metal goods n.e.s. Precision instr., Jewellery, etc.	321	1.8	424	2.2	450	2.2	636	2.8	676	2.8
X	Textiles	1,359	7.6	1,305	6.9	1,338	6.5	997	4.4	865	3.6
XI	Leather, etc.	93	0.5	87	0.5	92	0.4	79	0.4	67	0.3
XII	Clothing.	1,159	6.5	873	4.6	880	4.3	729	3.2	646	2.7
XIII	Food, Drink & Tobacco	554	3.1	623	3.3	709	3.5	756	3.4	920	3.9
XIV	Wood.	276	1.5	304	1.6	321	1.6	333	1.5	310	1.3
XV	Paper and Printing.	334	1.9	403	2.1	497	2.4	520	2.3	589	2.5
XVI	Other Manufactures.	96	0.5	205	1.1	235	1.1	267	1.2	288	1.2
XVII	Building.	950	5.3	795	4.2	1,122	5.5	1,431	6.4	1,543	6.5
XVIII	Gas, Electricity & Water.	116	0.6	179	0.9	246	1.2	361	1.6	380	1.6
XIX	Transport and Communication	1,416	7.9	1,570	8.3	1,671	8.2	1,734	7.7	1,700	7.2
XX	Distributive Trades	2,133	11.9	2,239	11.9	2,697	13.2	2,712	12.1	2,988	12.6
XXI	Finance	199	1.1	311	1.6	366	1.8	439	2.0	543	2.3
XXII	Public Admin. & Defence	701	3.9	1,007	5.3	999[x]	4.9	1,726	7.7	1,898	8.0
XXIII	Professional Services	798	4.4	886	4.7	1,067	5.2	1,543	6.9	1,984	8.3
XXIV	Misc. Services.	2,783	15.5	2,398	12.7	2,865	14.0	2,086	9.3	1,763	7.4

Note: [x] L.A. "Institutions" distinguished in 1931, and posted to "Prof. Services". In 1921, only nurses, attendants and medical occupations extracted from XXII and posted XXIII.

Subject to this important reservation, census statistics are very valuable for the study of occupational mobility. A few figures for Great Britain and France may be of interest:

Great Britain

Table 9 shows changes in the pattern of skills in Great Britain between 1911 and 1951. The main feature of this trend is the speed-up in the change in employment structure and the sharp increase in highly skilled jobs.

From 1911 to 1931 the number of professional workers with the highest qualifications increased from one per cent of the total active population to 1.14 per cent and in the succeeding 20 years it rose from 1.14 to 1.93 per cent(1). The number of foremen, inspectors and supervisors, rose from 1.29 to 1.54 in the first period and from 1.54 to 2.62 in the second. Finally, the number of office staff, after rising by little more than two points in the total active population between 1911 and 1931, increased by over four points in the following 20 years.

The second feature is the steady decline in the number of manual workers from 79 per cent of the total active population in 1911 to 74.5 per cent in 1931 and hardly 70 per cent in 1951.

The number of skilled workers also fell by nearly six points over the whole period. The trend in unskilled workers is less regular. After having considerably increased between 1911 and 1921 and marked time between 1921 and 1931 this category of worker has got smaller in the last 20 years. This trend is in line with the tendency observed in other highly industrialised countries.

Changes in the major economic sectors are no less significant, as shown in Table 10. The period 1911 to 1959 witnessed very far-reaching changes in the pattern of employment, particularly in agriculture, mining, textiles, clothing and miscellaneous services (including domestic servants). The drop in employment was very sharp in all these sectors. On the other hand, there was a considerable expansion in employment in the following sectors: engineering and shipbuilding, the motor vehicle industry, public administration, and professional services.

The short term changes between 1951 and 1959 were also far-reaching and sometimes more rapid than in the previous years. For example, employment in agriculture fell off by nearly one percentage point in eight years i.e. only slightly less than the drop in the previous twenty years. The same may be said of the professional services where the increase in employment in the last eight years has been almost as great as in the previous twenty years.

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(1) The figure for the lower grade of professional workers showed little increase between 1911 and 1931 but rose considerably between 1931 and 1951.

It is obvious that these changes in employment structure are largely due to considerable occupational mobility. The drift from the land is typical.

France

The initial results of the 1962 census make it possible to compare the distribution of the active population by major economic sector with the picture which emerged from the 1954 census. Incidentally, employment forecasts were made a few years ago for the period 1954-1961 when the Third Plan was being drafted. It is interesting to compare real and estimated trends. These surveys bring out the rate of manpower mobility.

Between 1954 and 1961 the total active population remained stable but there was a radical change in the occupational distribution of workers. The following tables show the distribution of the active population between the three sectors (primary, secondary and tertiary) in 1954 and 1962.

	1954	1962	Difference	
			in figures	in percent
Primary sector	5,194,919	3,897,960	-1,296,959	- 24.9
Secondary sector	6,867,000	7,323,780	+ 456,780	+ 6.6
Tertiary sector	6,885,604(1)	7,734,580	+ 848,976	+ 12.3
Total	18,947,523	18,956,320	+ 8,797	

(1) The figure for the tertiary sector includes 100,000 for the armed services abroad which was not allowed for in the 1954 census.

Percentage distribution of active employed population:

	1954	1962
Primary sector	27.4	20.5
Secondary	36.3	38.6
Tertiary sector..................	36.3	40.9
	100	100

The essential feature is the radical decline in the active agriculturel population, the annual reduction being about 150,000 per year. The Third Plan anticipated a loss of only 600,000 workers in this sector during the period 1954-1961, i.e. about 85,000 per year. It was soon realised, however, that this estimate, although sharply criticised as excessive in agricultural circles, was too low; it was subsequently agreed that the average rate of decline would be about 110,000 per year, but even this estimate fell short of reality.

With regard to the secondary sector, it is clear that the estimates compiled by the Commission are too high: a net increase of 630,000 jobs was expected in seven years whereas only 480,000 new jobs materialised over a period of eight years.

It is particularly rewarding, however, to make a more detailed analysis of changes in employment in the industrial sector.

Several factors should be noted:

(a) The most important is the increase in the active population in the building and civil engineering sector. The combined figure for both branches has risen to 19.2 per cent, the increase in wage earning personnel being particularly marked, i.e. 23.3 per cent.

This figure is higher than the estimates compiled for the sector by the Third Plan which anticipated an increase of 180,000 over the period 1954-1961. The real increase was in fact 267,500 in eight years.

(b) The second important factor is the very small rise in the secondary sector, apart from building and public works. If this branch is excluded and water, gas and electricity services, classified under industry in the Third Plan, are added, it will be seen that employment rose from 5,613,390 in 1954 to 5,828,560 in 1962, i.e., by 215,170. The rate of increase in employment was not more than 3.8 per cent for the eight years.

The Third Plan expected this figure to be more than doubled over a period of seven years. Although there is no great disparity between the estimates compiled for the building sector in 1956, the discrepancy is considerable in the remainder of the sector. The semi-stagnation of employment in this sector was emphasized by the Commission in a previous report and the publication of the results of the 1962 census has confirmed this observation.

Although employment has not greatly increased as a whole in the secondary sector, an analysis by industry shows that considerable increases in employment were offset by sizeable reductions.

In 1962 there were 575,000 more jobs than in 1954, entailing a considerable expansion in certain branches of industry:

+ 48 per cent in electrical engineering
+ 46 per cent in oil and fuel
+ 20 per cent in the engineering and metal manufacturing industries (250,000 more jobs in this sector alone).

On the other hand, about 360,000 jobs disappeared, including
62,000 in the solid mineral fuel sector
117,000 in textiles
90,000 in clothing
45,000 in hides and skins.

As compared with the estimates of the Third Plan, this trend shows no difference in direction, but the differences in rate of change are sometimes very far-reaching.

The Third Plan anticipated that the textiles industry would, on the whole, succeed in keeping its labour force whereas it actually lost over 100,000 workers. The same applies to the clothing and leather industries.

On the other hand, the chemical industry has increased its labour force by about 50,000, whereas the Third Plan allowed for an increase of only 10,000. The same applies to the paper and board and printing industries.

Trends in the electrical and mechanical engineering industry appear to have been accurately estimated: 325,000 jobs were created in 8 years as compared with the Plan estimate (360,000 jobs in 7 years).

(c) Finally, it is essential to note the very sharp drop in the number of self-employed skilled workers in industry, which fell by 24 per cent. This decline is even more pronounced for women (33 per cent) than for men (22 per cent). It affects the textile, clothing and hides and skins industries, and the loss from these three branches combined ranges between 33 and 38 per cent.

In the tertiary sector all branches except entertainment and domestic service show a definite increase in numbers.

For the commercial sector as a whole, the increase is 9 per cent. This overall trend covers a number of developments which differ considerably, according to the approach adopted. The wholesale sector has expanded far more than the retail sector, i.e. by about 26 per cent as compared with 14 per cent. Trade in food and agricultural produce has made much less progress than the other branches of commerce, i.e. 6 per cent as compared with 27 per cent.

Finally, there has been a drop of 5 per cent in the number of intermediaries in trade and industry and a similar decline (5 per cent) in hotel and café personnel. Actual trends are 3 times higher than estimated for the Third Plan.

In services proper, expansion has also been considerable, three times higher than expected. This is also the case as regards the administrative sector, although it is difficult to make accurate comparisons without knowing whether the definitions correspond exactly. Only in the transport sector, where the real increase has been very low (2.8 per cent), do the estimates appear to be confirmed by events.

The differences generally observed between estimates and reality in the tertiary sector are however, due to the fact that forecasting in this sector had a mandatory character. The report by the Manpower Commission stated that: "In trade and services, the anticipated increases in labour are very moderate. They represent a much lower rate in increase in employment than in other countries, the reason being that the tertiary sector is already strongly developed in France". This effort to induce relative stability in the employment position in the tertiary sector has proved to be ineffective.

Broadly speaking, the striking factor in the employment trend in the last eight years is the much greater labour mobility and the much greater change in the pattern of employment than had been anticipated. Economic expansion has accelerated structural changes in the country to such an extent that, in 1962, the distribution of labour over the three main sectors of the economy is largely the same as that forecast for 1965 under the Fourth Plan. The percentage of the agricultural population is even lower than the figure estimated for that date.

Distribution of active population by major sector

	On the basis of the 1962 census	In 1965 according to the Fourth Plan
Primary sector	20.5	20.9
Secondary	38.6	38.0
Tertiary sector	40.9	41.1

Advantage of occupational mobility

The few statistics give an approximate idea of manpower mobility. The main conclusion which emerges is that mobility is tending to increase. For example, more and more workers are leaving agriculture, at least in Europe.

The question is to decide whether considerable occupational mobility in an economically developed country is or is not beneficial. Changing jobs cannot be considered as an end in itself. The point is to find out whether or not such changes are favourable to a country's economic and social development and conducive to a higher standard of living. It is from this angle that the advantages and disadvantages of labour mobility can now be considered.

Advantages

Considerable occupational mobility is essential if a country's structure is to adapt itself rapidly to the economic changes brought about by technical developments. Manpower mobility is also a factor in giving workers a change to better their social status.

(i) Occupational mobility and changes in economic structure.

In a modern economy technical progress is rapid, particularly if the economy is exposed to very keen competition. Consequently, the unit demand for labour tends to decrease rapidly particularly in sectors affected by technical progress. If demand in these sectors does not increase proportionately to the reduction in the unit demand for labour, the numbers employed in these sectors will decline. The typical case is agriculture where improvements in productivity have been considerable and demand has been quickly and fully satisfied. If labour has difficulty in switching from one job to another, changes in economic structure will be held up. Several examples can be given.

Although developments in agricultural techniques lead to higher potential output, demand does not increase at the same rate. For this reason, prices tend to fall and farmers' incomes to shrink. If a certain proportion of these farmers do not leave the land, the position of farmers generally will become difficult and will be a source of social unrest. If manpower is sufficiently mobile, however, the chance of social unrest will be much less serious as the number of farmers sharing the revenue from agriculture becomes smaller.

On the other hand, other sectors cannot develop owing to a shortage of the skilled labour required. This state of affairs may become particularly serious because, not only does it slow down economic expansion but it is also a cause of inflation: the shortage of labour leads to a rise in wage rates as one firm tries to outbid another to attract labour. This rise in wages is itself a cause of the rise in prices. In such cases, mobility has to be encouraged and steps taken to adapt labour to the demands of the economic system.

(ii) Occupational mobility and opportunities for workers to improve their social status.

Labour mobility is also important inasmuch as it provides an opportunity for social progress. Workers frequently take course of training outside the firms in which they are employed with a view to obtaining better employment. This is a good thing not only socially but also economically. Better opportunities for workers are essential to economic expansion in industrialised countries, which require a constant flow of increasingly skilled labour.

Table 11 shows employment prospects by occupational group in the United States in 1970 and reveals the need for occupational mobility, which is bound up with the necessity of providing workers with opportunities of improving their status: for it is obvious that the new influx of young people who have just finished their training will not be sufficient to meet these needs.

Whereas the active population as a whole will increase by 20 per cent between 1960 and 1970, white-collar workers will increase by 30 per cent and blue-collar workers by 14 per cent; among the latter the percentage of skilled workers will rise by 20 per cent. Occupations in the services category will show a more than average increase but agriculture will continue to decline. Generally speaking, there will be an increase in the demand for skills at all levels.

Disadvantages of occupational mobility

It is very difficult to calculate the point beyond which occupational mobility becomes a disadvantage rather than an advantage, even in an expanding economy. This point varies, moreover, from one country to another. The rate of economic activity, and the general economic climate play a big part in this connection.

Nevertheless it is certain that the younger people in all countries are often much too mobile. Far from reflecting any adaptation

Table 11

Employment by occupation(1) in 1960 and estimates for 1970

Occupation	Employment				Difference 1960-1970	
	1960		1970			
	millions	%	millions	%	millions	%
Total	66.7	100.0	80.5	100.0	15.8	21
Professional, technical occupations and the like.	7.5	11.2	10.7	13.3	3.2	43
Managerial and administrative occupations	7.1	10.6	8.6	10.7	1.5	21
Clerical and related occupations	9.8	14.7	12.8	15.9	3.0	31
Sales occupations and the like. . . .	4.4	6.6	5.4	6.7	1.0	23
Craftsmen, foremen and the like. . . .	8.6	12.8	10.3	12.8	1.7	20
Workers and the like.	12.0	18.0	13.6	16.9	1.6	13
Service workers . . .	8.3	12.5	11.1	13.8	2.8	34
Unskilled industrial workers	3.7	5.5	3.7	4.6		
Agricultural occupations	5.4	8.1	4.2	5.3	-1.2	-22

(1) The American occupational categories are based on the I.L.O. International classification.

to changes in the country's economic pattern or any desire to provide opportunities of advancement, it is a sign of instability due to faulty vocational guidance at the beginning of their training or inadequate skill which leaves them unable to cope with the work they are offered. The training received at school and the vocational guidance given at the outset play an important part in a worker's mobility in the course of his career. This is a point that will have to be amplified in the second part of this report.

More generally, too much manpower mobility sends up production costs owing to the disturbance it causes in industry. The danger may be serious, particularly in times of shortages of skilled labour, because firms have to outbid one another to attract the manpower available and wage rates tend to rise considerably. Even this, however, does not tend to slow down mobility; the effect is rather to increase the effort made to provide additional vocational training, and to develop mobility on rational lines instead of letting it develop haphazardly.

There are therefore no grounds for considering that the drawbacks of mobility outweigh the advantages. In actual fact the contrary is true. Consideration should be given to the ways and means whereby the government, employers and unions can encourage the coordinated development of mobility which is a factor in economic expansion.

AID TO MOBILITY

All cases of mobility do not necessarily involve a period of re-adaptation. Most of them are part of the normal fluidity of the labour market. Mobility is often necessary to a worker's career, enabling him to go from one firm to another in his quest for higher-grade employment.

In many other cases mobility is a consequence of the current economic trend. As already pointed out in Chapter I, the current economic trend could affect mobility in both directions, boom conditions acting as a break on dismissals but encouraging workers to change jobs of their own accord and attracting skilled workers to firms offering them higher wages. Under slump conditions the position of skilled workers is generally stable, whereas unskilled workers tend to be laid off in large numbers. A temporary slump does not raise the question of re-adaptation, as this difficulty arises only if the slump is due to an unbalanced economic structure. Aid to mobility must be studied in the light of structural balance and must take a form that will provide a remedy.

It should suffice to indicate just a few of the main problems caused by labour mobility from this point of view in the O.E.C.D. countries:

1. The drift from the land, which is a basic feature of a rapidly expanding economy, results in mobility among agricultural workers involving many cases of re-adaptation, as these workers are generally unskilled.

2. The decline in certain activities, e.g. mining or textiles, which is not a temporary factor and involves difficulties of redeployment.

3. In a highly technical economy the number of unskilled jobs tends to decline. Finding new jobs for untrained workers will therefore become increasingly difficult. The sectors in which the latter are now employed are shrinking and possibilities of redeployment are very limited. In the future, a large proportion of unemployment will be traceable to a lack of training.

4. In other sectors, however, it is a matter of attracting labour into employment demanding a higher level of skill and arranging for courses of further vocational training to provide workers with an opportunity to improve their social status. The demand for skilled labour is such that it cannot be satisfied merely by the number of young people now being trained. Something must be done to give the existing labour force opportunities for training and thus develop mobility either in the same firm or by moving to others.

It is not the purpose of this report to list all the different possible ways of developing these various kinds of mobility. Several special reports are to be submitted on practical experiments to encourage occupational mobility among workers, giving details of the kind of help that can be provided. The present report merely indicates the various ways in which mobility can be encouraged. But attention must first be drawn to certain basic conditions that must be fulfilled before any policy of mobility can be framed.

I. Prerequisites for a policy of mobility

There are three basic conditions: an improvement in educational levels and an educational policy properly adapted to meet requirements, an increase in available accommodation and a knowledge of manpower requirements.

The increase in educational standards and the adaptation of educational policy to meet economic requirements

As already noted, the unskilled are the most difficult unemployed workers to place in other jobs, a phenomenon that is amply confirmed by all the statistics available. A higher educational level is an essential feature of all countries undergoing rapid expansion. In the United States, for example, between 1940 and 1959 the average number of years of education among the active population rose from 9 to 12. This better general education provided for young people is a guarantee of an easier career as it enables them to adapt themselves more readily to a new job.

Experience has shown that a worker can be easily adapted to different work if he has some knowledge of mathematics and is able to express himself satisfactorily both orally and in writing. This represents a basic "investment" which is made when the worker is at school and which will benefit him throughout his whole career.

If this minimum level is not attained, a worker awaiting re-adaptation cannot follow a vocational training course unless he is given a course of general education. This takes time and the worker may or may not adjust eadily to it. It is very often at this point that psychological difficulties arise which become an obstacle to mobility. A higher shcool-leaving age in countries which require less than twelve years compulsory schooling and a drive for more programmes of general education in technical schools are therefore two of the prerequisites for a long-term policy of mobility.

Another essential in any educational policy is to adapt technical training programmes more effectively to the needs of the economic system. Demand for a particular type of labour changes rapidly and occupations which once attracted considerable manpower suddenly lose their importance and the young workers who have been trained for such occupations find themselves jobless.

It is essential that schools should adjust themselves to this trend as rapidly as possible so that school-leavers do not find themselves unemployed or difficult to employ when they reach the labour market. This is a very difficult matter because training establishments sometimes have to invest a considerable sum in equipment to train young people for the occupations in question. Moreover, their instructors, who have specialised in a particular type of training, may find reconversion exceedingly trying. The education authorities must nevertheless decide to close down such schools or specialised branches of training.

Similarly, the vocational guidance provided for young people about to embark upon a course of training or choose a specialised occupation must take account not only of individual abilities but also of the probable trend of demand. If this is not done, young people will soon find themselves in a blind alley and forced to go on changing jobs until they find stable employment, sometimes after several depressing months of unemployment. Occupational mobility in such cases is an economic plague and a sheer wastage of young talent.

Housing policy

As geographical mobility is dealt with in yet another report there is no need to touch upon this point, except to stress the close link between geographical and occupational mobility. A change of job is often accompanied by a change of residence but when a change of this kind calls for re-adaptation, the matter becomes more complicated.

In some countries, many firms would be glad to recruit extra workers but are either isolated in predominantly rural areas or located in towns where the housing resources are saturated, and therefore have to give up the idea of taking on extra personnel. This state of affairs curbs the effect of recruitment on occupational mobility and consequently very often serves as a brake on economic expansion. A housing policy designed to meet labour requirements in the various regions in the next few years is essential to the expansion of occupational mobility to keep pace with demands.

Employment forecasts

Adequate vocational guidance and a housing policy designed to meet the demand for labour presuppose facilities for medium and long-term employment forecasting. Efforts have been made in recent years to work out methods of employment forecasting and some schemes have already been made since 1952 as each of the Modernisation and Equipment Plans have been prepared.

Other countries have also adopted this procedure. The United States in particular has published employment forecasts for 1970 in the President's manpower reports to Congress. The Development of this work should be encouraged and this presupposes three essential conditions:

1. Full statistics of the present employment situation and its trends in past years must be collected.
2. Trade associations and employers must co-operate in preparing employment forecasts. These can only be compiled if firms, knowing what technical changes are likely to arise in their plant, supply information on the effects of such innovations on employment.
3. All the data supplied by industry must be seen against the general background of prospective developments in the country's economy and its different branches in order to get a complete picture of employment prospects. Assumption as to production prospects must be made at national level to enable an overall survey of consumer demand to be carried out. The act of merely taking stock of prospects in individual industries will not produce an accurate picture of demand trends, as each firm is always hoping to secure a bigger part of the market.

The need for employment forecasting makes it essential for the government to co-operate with trade associations and firms. The trade unions must also be called in as they have their part to play in calculating future demand and employment prospects.

II. The main measures likely to develop mobility

Apart from these basic conditions a number of specific schemes should be pursued to facilitate the development of manpower mobility when the latter is required. As stated in the introduction to this chapter, it will suffice to enumerate the main channels of action: the employment services, additional vocational training centres, workers' charters and collective agreements.

The employment services

The government employment services have so far been considered as catering for the workless. They pay relief and do everything to find other jobs for the unemployed, but in the last few years a new conception of these services has arisen under which they are concerned with channelling workers into more effective employment.

This change of outlook has had a number of effects on the work of the services.

1. The employment services are expected to circulate as much information as possible on employment prospects in the next few years, i.e., actual vacancies and the skills required; but this is not all. They must also take up practical cases involving workers who are unemployed or who are merely obliged to find new employment. The schemes of "Conseils professionels" (vocational guidance) which is now being developed in France is in keeping with this new conception. These case studies make it possible to help workers to find new employment suitable to their particular ability and at the same time provide the employment services with new information for research on the social aspects of adjustment to a change of trade.

2. The employment services have to concern themselves with new categories of labour whose employment creates delicate problems.

(a) In the first place special attention must be devoted to young people. Since 1948, the employment services in the United Kingdom have set up vocational guidance sections for young people; they find them work and even keep in touch after they have been placed. These sections are responsible for young people up to the age of 18 or until such time as they leave their training school to start on a job. In the United States too, an effort is now being made in this direction. In 1962, 27 states appointed youth employment inspectors to organise special employment services. The latter include vocational guidance, testing, placing, and the choice of job particularly suitable for young people, etc.

(b) Older workers, too, are given special attention by the employment services. These workers are not very mobile, as was seen from the statistical survey which preceded Chapter I. Under the Manpower Development and Training Act, the American employment services provide a number of schemes for developing the mobility of elderly workers, including an effort to publicise the fact that they not only have considerable experience but also a relatively low absentee rate. Further work on these lines would undoubtedly be useful in other countries.

(c) Married women wishing to take up employment again once their children are off their hands form an increasingly large category of workers which also deserves any help it can get from the employment services.

(d) Finally, if the employment services are to carry out their task satisfactorily, they must also concern themselves with the placing of highly-skilled workers. At the present time they do not often do so. This means not only that these services will have to make an effort but that there must also be a change in the attitude of employers and the workers concerned. As such workers naturally do not get in touch with the employment services, the latter have no information or facilities for placing them.

The supplementary vocational training centres

These training centres have a wide range of functions and different forms of management.

Some are set up when a firm is being converted; this is particularly possible in France. Firms may draw on the Economic and Social Development Fund in the following cases:

- When a firm's activity is reduced or totally discontinued and all or part of its personnel is dismissed;
- When a firm is entirely or partly converted or its manufacturing processes are considerably modified as a result of market developments, industrial concentration or specialisation;
- When firms are decentralised, extend their activities or set up new plant in areas of underemployment, provided such schemes are carried out with the approval of the industrial planning authorities.

It should also be mentioned that aid to retrain workers can also be granted to firms which agree to provide retraining where this is a recognised need for workers who have been dismissed or suspended as a result of labour cuts in other firms.

Assistance for vocational training covers the instructors' salaries and social charges, trainees' allowances and wages, the cost of equipment and materials. In some cases it may include the cost of training instructors where such initial training is necessary and the cost of inspection, medical examination and psycho-technical tests.

In other cases the centre are not connected with firms but set up, irrespective of any specific requirements, for retraining unemployed adult workers in jobs which are certain to be required in industry. The vocational training for adults in France is of this kind. A national inter-trade organisation for the efficient training of labour has been instituted with a Board of Directors consisting of civil servants, representatives of the employers and the unions. This association is entirely financed by the government. It opens accelerated vocational training centres which in six months can turn out skilled workers for any sector that may be badly in need of labour, especialy the building and metal industry. In the last few years these centres have been concentrating on the training of technicians, particularly in the electronic industry, and draughtsmen.

The British system outlined in the White Paper on industrial training December 1962 seems to be midway between the two schemes described above:

1. The Minister of Labour has the power to set up training centres for particular industries. These centres decide on the training policy to be adopted and their proposals are submitted to the Ministry of Labour for approval and in some cases to Parliament.
2. The centres are empowered to levy a contribution on all firms in the relevant industry and to subsidise firms which themselves train workers on the lines laid down in advance by the centre.
3. Centres may create their own training schools and institute courses if they think fit.
4. The application of this system is not limited to manufacturing industries, but may be extended to agriculture, mining, commerce and other industries.
5. The boards of management of these centres must include representatives of the employers, the unions and the educational authorities.

The examples of vocational training mentioned so far depend on government action and frequently on the co-operation of the unions but, in many cases, firms make their own arrangements to ensure the necessary supplementary training.

For example, in the United States the 1962 survey shows that 19 per cent of firms whose staffs are covered by the "State unemployment compensation programmes" had training arrangements for their personnel. The big firms are particularly interested in this scheme: 76 per cent of firms employing at least 500 workers had programmes of this kind. In these cases the courses provided covered basic training, reconversion and tuition designed to give workers opportunities of improving their status.

Workers' charters

A third factor to be considered in connection with manpower mobility concerns the personal and employment rights of workers who change their jobs. It is fit and proper that a worker should wish to maintain any acquired rights he may have, e.g., his seniority. This want may be satisfied without great difficulty when the worker is transferred from one job to another within the same firm, whether this involves a physical move or not; the requisite arrangements can form a subject of negotitation with the management. It is also quite feasible to incorporate provisions to this effect in collective wage agreements; arrangements of this kind have been made in collective agreements in the United States.

The difficulties are obviously greater in cases where the worker ceases, on leaving, to be covered by a previous agreement. The adoption of labour/management agreements providing for a severance allowances or retirement benefits is no doubt within the bounds of possibility but the maintenance of a worker's acquired employment rights would be difficult in this event, particularly if he had been previously covered by a very detailed and thoroughgoing labour/management scheme. All possibilities of collective bargaining in this field do not, however, seem to have been exhausted. Efforts may still be made, perhaps as part of private pension schemes and new schemes might well be introduced to cover workers in not one but in several industrial sectors.

A few examples may be given of collective agreements which facilitate manpower mobility.

A collective agreement signed in 1961 in the United States meat canning industry provides for "technical adjustment pay" for workers who become redundant. These allowances are paid to workers with at least five years' seniority who are to be transferred to other workshops. The allowance is due until the worker is actually re-employed or until the expiration of his rights, which are based on the length of his service. Any worker who does not wish to be "transferred" receives severance pay.

There are other agreements which facilitate the premature retirement of workers whose qualifications are no longer in demand as a result of technical progress. Arrangements are also made to ensure that workers who have a certain seniority in the firm and who find themselves in this position are given priority in re-employment.

Certain agreements even include a guarantee that the signatory firm or group of firms will give members of their permanent staff opportunities of retraining in cases of a major technical change. This provision was adopted in the agreement between the New York City Publishers Association and the type-setters union.

Other arrangements might well be thought out, as the possibilities do not yet appear to have been adequately explored; a seminar might usefully give particular attention to this matter.

CONCLUSIONS

The following appear to be the main points for study:

1. Statistics of manpower mobility must be compiled in countries which have none. Documentation of this kind is relatively scarce at the moment.

2. Research on the factors affecting mobility is essential to determine, for example, the influence of wage rates and the psychological aspects of mobility.

3. Further research should be put in hand to assess the value of aids to mobility. Is the transfer of pension rights effective? What is the

value of the private vocational training schemes organised by firms to fit skilled workers overtaken by technical change for a new job?

4. Finally, a sound mobility policy can be developed only if detailed employment forecasts are compiled beforehand.

These are the main directions in which research on mobility should proceed.

Appendix 3

ROLE OF THE EMPLOYERS' ORGANISATIONS IN GEOGRAPHICAL AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

by

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Without prejudging the conclusions of the individual reports and case studies and the discussions on them, it may be valuable to present to the Seminar some ideas which seem to be important for employers' organisations in the field of geographical and occupational mobility and which may even serve as a basis for the discussions.

Definition of the terms

To avoid any confusion, I should like to define at the outset what is understood by the term "mobility" in this report. "Mobility" does not mean the fact that a worker migrates or changes his job or occupation. It means the capacity or the ability of a worker to accept and fulfill the requirements of a new job or a new occupation. This capacity has to be understood as including the subjective or personal qualifications as well as the objective possibilities.

In the strict sense of the definition, "geographical mobility" means the capacity to work in the same occupation in another place, village or region, and "occupational mobility" the capacity to change from one occupation to another.

I am aware - as probably the other reports and case studies will show - that it is not always possible to make a clear distinction between geographical and occupational mobility and that a change of locality very often involves an occupational change for the individual worker. I may also add that to study the measures and policies to improve mobility it is necessary to look at the statistical data although it shows only the quantitative and qualitative movement between regions and occupations.

General considerations

When dealing with the subject matter of the Seminar, the question: "Why should we put particular emphasis on geographical and occupational mobility?" seems to be justified. We have to recognise that each national economy finds itself in a dynamic process. Without going into details, modern economy has to adapt to changing needs and demands not only on the home but also on foreign markets. New products, new inventions and new production methods etc. entail structural, frictional and cyclical changes which may affect employment. These changes may force some, or a substantial part, of the labour force to find jobs elsewhere or in other occupations. For these reasons it is necessary to find ways of increasing the adaptability of workers, to make them geographically and occupationally mobile.

The problems of workers affected by structural and frictional changes should probably form the more important part of our discussions. But we should not overlook the fact that there are workers who for personal reasons change or want to change their jobs or occupations, and that these changes form the major part of normal day to day movements from one enterprise to another and from one occupation to another.

A more detailed study may reveal that the reasons for these movements are not strictly "personal" (e.g. disability, old age, dissatisfaction with the job, the working conditions or advancement opportunities etc.), but may also show a defect in the system of vocational guidance and orientation.

Geographical and occupational mobility are only part - though important - of an overall manpower policy. Policies and measures to improve or promote mobility must, therefore, be in line with or be conceived within the framework of the aims and objectives of the general national manpower policy.

It can be stated that all Member states of O.E.C.D. pursue a manpower policy to achieve as high a level of employment as possible. Since manpower policy is only part of the overall economic and social policy, its objectives must also be to secure the achievement of the general objectives of economic and social policy, i.e. to contribute to economic growth, price and monetary stability, raising of living standards etc.

Neither geographical nor occupational mobility can, therefore, be ends in themselves. They may be seen as subsidiary measures to contribute to the other general objectives.

Logical and self-evident though this statement may be, it has always to be kept in mind when dealing with the subjects of the Seminar. But it is here - when trying to put it into effect - that the difficulties begin.

The subject matter becomes even more difficult since we should not overlook two principles to which we attach paramount importance in this field, i.e. freedom of employment and freedom of movement of labour, which we want to apply even across national frontiers.

It follows that the powers and possibilities of governments and of employers and trade unions are limited by these principles. Compulsory measures or coercive actions that are liable to infringe upon these principles cannot be applied, even though they may appear to be economically and socially sound or positive. In the field of geographical and occupational mobility, the only activities which can be adopted are those based on free action, free co-operation and incentives.

Attitude towards mobility

Some people maintain that a high level of mobility impedes rather than promotes the general objectives of economic and social policy. They point out that considerable costs are involved for an individual enterprise (and for society as a whole) when a great number of workers constantly change their jobs. They also think that migration and job changes are signs of disruption, decadence, dissolution and ruin of an orderly society. They would prefer greater loyalty of workers and stability of the work force.

This is looking only at the negative aspects of a high level of mobility. It is, of course, hardly desirable to have a continuous fluctuation of workers, a symptom which is favoured by full employment - or as we sometimes say in my country "over full employment". Each new employee requires a certain period of introduction, of job training and of adaption before he can completely fulfil his tasks.

If you want, however, to prevent an economy from becoming stagnant, you cannot deny the necessity of technological and economic change, which in turn means a change in the structure of the work force. If, moreover, you want this latter change to take place with as little friction and hardship as possible, you have to provide the workers with the abilities and opportunity to adapt themselves to the new situation. Then you have to take into account that the movement which finally takes place on the geographical and occupational level does not always correspond to the requirements of the economic situation as a whole. In a free market society, negative effects of mobility are unavoidable. But I quite agree that it should be the objective of an active manpower policy to avoid - as far as possible - any negative or detrimental effects of geographical and occupational mobility.

The preceding statement is probably more easily made than applied. I doubt whether it is possible - and I see no formula that has yet been found - to say to what extent or what degree we need mobility. In other words: what degree of mobility is positive, and when does it start to become negative in the overall sense of economic and social objectives?

National differences

Activities in the field of mobility must necessarily be different in an economy which enjoys full employment and in an economy which has unemployment problems.

In making this distinction, I have in mind not so much the normal day-to-day movement, which occurs in every free enterprise economy. In these cases it may be just a question of degree. It may be easier to fill a vacancy caused by a moving worker in an economy with manpower surplus but, on the other hand, a worker may be more willing to move in an economy with general manpower shortage. Yet, this may not be true in all cases. It depends, too, on the job to be filled and the job looked for. For an individual employer, it does not make any difference whether he cannot find a new worker because of full employment or because of the lack of sufficient workers qualified for the job. Similarly, it is not significant to a worker whether he cannot find a new job because there is wide-spread unemployment or because his qualifications are not required.

I think, however, that a certain distinction must be made with regard to redundant or unemployed workers. As experience has shown in my own country, there was no difficulty in re-employing those workers laid off in declining branches of industry. Workers in the same situation in countries with considerable unemployment could not be easily placed in new jobs.

I doubt, however, whether an increase of mobility is the key to the problem in countries with unemployment. If the unemployment is caused by the economic conditions of that country it would seem necessary first to improve the business situation. I may add that it will make economic development easier if industry can depend on a supply of qualified manpower, as the experience of Germany in the earlier fifties of this century has shown. From this one may draw the conclusion that measures to improve the business situation and measures to improve the mobility of workers should be undertaken simultaneously.

On the other hand, the mobility of workers is quite an asset in an economy with structural unemployment or where this kind of unemployment threatens. I think it contributes to the avoidance of unemployment of workers who are affected by structural changes if they possess a high degree of mobility.

The role of employers and their organisations in ensuring this mobility depends, however, to a great extent on the part they play within the framework and the institutions of the manpower policy of the individual country.

The role of employers with regard to geographical mobility

Though a clear distinction can probably not be made, we shall attempt to deal with geographical and occupational mobility separately.

It is probably very difficult to determine ex ante wher a worker may be considered geographically mobile. The degree of mobility generally depends upon several factors, such as age, family status, social relations, cultural and educational background, material ties (house, land), expectations and possibilities at his new place of work, etc. The other reports and case studies, which will deal more closely with these aspects, may show that, e.g. one worker is not willing to move into a certain area where there are better employment opportunities, whilst he would be willing to go to an area where he cannot be employed.

These complex social, cultural and psychological factors seem to play an important role in geographical mobility and particular emphasis should be devoted to them before undertaking specific measures.

To deal more specifically with the attitude of employers towards goegraphical mobility, one has to accept that there are two standpoints involved. An employer in an area with a relatively large surplus of manpower will resent all measures that are liable to withdraw the qualified manpower from the area. On the other hand, an employer in an area with a relative shortage of manpower will favour all governmental and private measures that will persuade workers to move into his district.

From the viewpoint of an overall economic policy, it may be advisable to induce migration. But one has to acknowledge the two different attitudes of employers and that this does not generally facilitate the role of employers' organisations. This, of course, does not mean that employers' organisations have to be inactive or that they cannot play any part in geographical mobility.

The role employers can play depends to a great extent on national economic and social conditions and the objectives of national policy. To illustrate this, one has to take a situation where there is a disparity in the employment market in different regions of the country. In this case you may apply two different policies:

(a) To move the worker to the job and to establish the necessary methods;

(b) To move the job to the worker and to establish favourable conditions for investment in the locality.

Some countries seem to favour the one alternative to the other. I think that the application of each of the alternatives has its own merits, though in the long run I would prefer the second alternative. However, this requires very careful studies of the reasons for unemployment and of the economic development possibilities in the area. This alternative is less practicable, therefore, for short term policy, because careful programming is necessary to avoid loss of considerable investment. One has to consider also that basic industries are dependent upon the supply of raw materials, and services are dependent upon demand. Thus usually only manufacturing industries can be transferred to undeveloped areas. An employer will move a plant, however, only if he can be sure that the basic conditions for running an enterprise are offered and that there is a market in the area.

The necessary infra-structure which includes the supply of qualified manpower as well as the presence of transport and other facilities, involve such high investment that it cannot be borne by one or a group of employers. The government must intervene, and there are numerous possibilities for offering incentives to employers to invest in that area.

It is not the purpose of this paper to deal with these possibilities. It is only intended to point out that there is this alternative to the migration of workers. I may add only that when such measures are envisaged, the government or local authorities should seek the co-operation of employers and employers' organisations.

In cases where redevelopment of an area is not feasible or does not result in the full absorption of the manpower available, the only alternative is to move the workers to the job. Such a policy has the advantage, moreover, that it is applicable on a short term basis and can more quickly relieve the area of its unemployment problems.

Taking the experience of my own country immediately after the war, the only possibility of finding employment for workers, especially the high number of refugees, was to move them into the industrial centres. Nowadays we would rather see the opposite happen, namely that the densely-populated areas, which create considerable problems of various kinds, are dissolved. I think the other O.E.C.D. countries have similar problems.

Before increasing the geographical mobility of workers - whether on a short term basis or as a last resort - the following conditions must prevail:

(a) The general business trend must be favourable.

(b) There must be vacancies in the area to which the workers are emigrating. It seems to be of hardly any value to transfer unemployment from one are to another.

(c) The employer must be willing and in a position to employ the migrating workers. This depends to some extent on the business expectations of the employer, e.g. whether he decides to expand. It also depends on whether the workers fulfil the job qualifications required and, if not, whether the employer can or is willing to do the retraining.

(d) A final prerequisite is that there is sufficient housing accommodation in the receiving area.

When reviewing the different conditions, one must admit that it is somewhat outside the scope and competence of employers to achieve favourable business conditions. With regard to the other condition, it would be wrong to ask employers to fulfil them. A big enterprise may dispose of sufficient resources even to take care of the housing facilities of migrant workers. But generally speaking and taking into account the increased living standard, it is probably beyond the possibility of employers to offer new housing to the migrant workers.

One should not overlook the fact that in a free enterprise economy the employer is expected to keep his enterprise as competitive as possible.

I shall refrain from listing the various forms of incentives that can be applied to increase employers co-operation to fulfil the conditions listed, as well as from listing the incentives to increase workers' mobility by transfer, retraining, housing and other grants and benefits.

It seems important, however, to point out that unilateral government activities run the risk of failure. It is necessary that the authorities receive and seek the co-operation and advice of employers and their organisations. This can be done - and is done in quite a number of countries - by inviting employers to participate in the preparation, execution or direction of certain measures in geographical mobility, e.g. as in Germany by participation of employers in the labour market institutions which are responsible in this field. It may thus be possible to receive the active assistance of one or of groups of employers in specific projects, e.g. to set up training centres, to provide the workers in the area with the necessary qualifications or to embark upon a common housing project.

Sometimes one runs across certain prejudices or a reluctance of employers to employ migrant workers. It is here that the employers' organisations can play an important role in removing these more sociological or psychological obstacles on the part of their members. Employers' organisations can do much to help their members to find rules and practices to facilitate the social and cultural adaptation of migrant workers.

The role of employers with regard to occupational mobility

In the preceding chapter, reference has been made to the necessity of retraining and re-adapting migrant workers to their new jobs. In such cases there is usually a lack of occupational mobility.

A high degree of occupational mobility, such as the capacity of the worker to fulfil another occupation, is not only in the interest of the individual worker, but also in the interest of employers and the economy as a whole, because it facilitates the voluntary or enforced transfer of workers from one profession to the other with a minimum degree of friction and costs. Employers should and do take a favourable attitude towards increasing the occupational mobility of the work-force.

An unskilled worker can be employed in nearly every firm. But this is not what we are striving for. The growth and prosperity of an economy depends on the presence of a highly qualified reservoir of manpower. This is made evident, too, by the statistical information that the number of unskilled workers decreases and the demand for skilled workers constantly increases. Occupational mobility, therefore, requires a sound and basic vocational training. A worker who is trained only for a specialised job and has achieved highly specialised knowledge and abilities in this field does not have a high degree of mobility.

It is probably difficult to state what degree of training or qualifications guarantee optimum mobility. One can say, however, that those workers with a broad and basic training in standard occupations who are able by their knowledge and ability to adapt themselves easily to new occupations are highly mobile.

To arrive at a first general conclusion, everything shoukd, therefore, be done to induce young people when entering working life to go through apprenticeship training.

I think that employers and their organisations can greatly contribute to the occupational mobility of workers if they do everything possible to induce new entrants to the labour force to get sound basic training before they become specialised. Employers have the responsibility of providing young people with these training facilities and training opportunities.

This implies, moreover, that employers should constantly endeavour to improve the qualitative and quantitative training facilities.

In our modern economy which more and more requires intellectual capacities of workers, the general schooling system, the basic education of young people in reading, writing, mathematics, etc. needs to be improved.

Employers and their organisations can therefore play an important role if they urge the education authorities to improve the basic schooling of young people. The form in which this influence can be exerted depends on national conditions. But it seems to me that employers who see the needs and the defects of general education in their daily work should become more active in this field.

In order to avoid the entry of young people into professions for which they are not suited or that offer less opportunity and to avoid an imbalance of the occupational structure, employers can and should use their influence (e.g., within the labour market institutions) to improve the service and methods of occupational guidance and orientation.

The quality of these services depends, too, on the information supplied to them by industry about future occupational developments or industrial needs, for instance. Close co-operation on the part of employers with these services is, therefore, necessary.

Vocational training can certainly help to ease the effects of structural changes, but it cannot avoid them completely, as in the following contingencies:

(a) A worker well trained in a specific profession may have to look for a completely different occupation, because there is no longer a demand for his original profession;

(b) An occupation is dying out;

(c) An occupation is overcrowded;

(d) A worker has no training whatsoever;

(e) Finally there are cases where a worker can no longer work in his original occupation because of personal reasons (handicapped workers, old workers).

In these cases occupational mobility may be lost completely or partly and has to be re-instituted on another level.

Occupational changes take place constantly within an enterprise. An employer who wants the ablest person at the right job may perform specific retraining or provide advanced training courses or send his workers to outside schools, which are sometimes set up by employers' organisations or other institutions. The employer may offer study grants to his most capable workers.

A big corporation can also meet the problems that arise when a plant or department has to be closed. It can start early with retraining and be in a position to transfer its workers to other plants or departments.

Probably the majority of employers are, however, not in a position to set up specific retraining courses for their employees threatened by unemployment. It is quite unrealistic to ask an employer in a declining industry to increase the mobility of his workers by specific training measures. Here it is the responsibility of the community to help the affected workers.

This applies, too, to those workers who are handicapped, belong to occupations that are dying out, are too old to be retrained for new jobs or are unemployed because they did not get any training at all.

In all these cases it is quite important that employers in general co-operate with the responsible authorities and provide as far as possible the necessary training facilities. The authorities can give specific incentives to employers to do the retraining and to re-employ the affected workers.

The role of employers' organisations in general

In the previous chapter no distinction has been made between the role of employers and that of their organisations. In geographical and occupational mobility one can generally say that the task of individual employers is that of application whilst it is the responsibility of employers' organisations to co-ordinate the measures of their members, to give them assistance in representing their interests, and to co-operate with government authorities and trade unions.

There is a two-way flow of influence between employers' organisations and their members. Since they have policy-making responsibilities, they can influence the attitude of their members, as has been pointed out with regard to geographical mobility and occupational mobility, in the latter field especially on the subject of vocational training. Through their committees and by way of specific information services and the arranging of specific seminars and meetings, employers' organisations can secure the necessary exchange of experience, knowledge and information on results of scientific research.

Appendix 4

ROLE OF THE TRADE UNIONS IN CONNECTION WITH GEOGRAPHICAL AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF MANPOWER

by
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Introduction

The problems of geographical and occupational mobility of manpower are complex and many-sided, which makes them difficult to grasp.

The E.C.S.C., in a study published in 1956(1), emphasized that some movements of labour could be classed as geographical or horizontal, to distinguish them from social or vertical movements, i.e. movements of individuals in the social scale. It laid down the following criteria:

- Geographical: the main distinction is between internal mobility (within an area or a country) and international mobility.
- Duration: daily, weekly, seasonal or permanent movements.
- Nature: movement may be spontaneous, encouraged or imposed.

Pierre Naville(2) writes that mobility has many meanings, and that its various forms may be classified as follows:

- Those resulting from a change of job or occupation;
- Those resulting from alternating (simultaneous) occupation of several jobs;

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(1) "Obstacles to the Mobility of Workers and Social Problems of Adaptation". (E.C.S.C. studies and documents), page 29 and following.

(2) "L'emploi, le métier, la profession", by P. Naville in "Traité de Sociologie du travail" (A. Colin, 1962), page 235.

- Those which are technically a part of the occupation carried on;
- Those marking upward or downward movement within an occupation;

In this report we shall be dealing more especially with questions relating to:

- Spontaneous or imposed occupational mobility;
- Geographical mobility;
- Permanent transfer.

It must also be emphasized at the outset that trade union organisation, at both national and international levels, is so diverse that it is impossible to find any one attitude which represents the views of all trade unions on these questions; the writer is moreover obliged to deal with what he knows best, i.e. French problems.

TRADE UNION CONCEPT OF MOBILITY

This is well summed up in the following statement by R. Caillot(1) at the national meeting on employment organised by the C.F.T.C. in May 1963. While we believe that economic and technical development requires a certain mobility of manpower, "development may in many respects become the reverse of true development if it damages traditional human values or establishes false values from a human point of view, whose pernicious effects are not always immediate (leading some people to deny their existence).

"Economics must work to serve man, not man to serve economic expansion". Caillot continues "and even if it should come as a surprise, we dare to state that economic growth must help men and families to take root (which does not mean they must be fixed) rather than uproot them".

In its report(2) on the enquiries which it carried out in 1955, the E.C.S.C. records the agreement of the I.F.C.T.U. and the I.C.F.T.U. on the question of mobility. The two great international movements emphasized the following points:

Priority for industrialisation of the underdeveloped areas

Migration cannot be the best method of combating unemployment, but where there is no other solution movement must be assisted and be made freely and with full knowledge of the reasons. The trade unions are in any case opposed to the abandonment of certain areas.

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(1) "Regional Economic Development" by R. Caillot of "Economie et Humanisme".

(2) "Studies and documents: Obstacles to mobility of workers, and social problems of adaptation" (pages 133 and following).

Preference for daily or weekly movements

These avoid the difficulties arising from lack of accommodation and also the psychological and social difficulties of adaptation, particularly in countries where there are differences of language or religion.

Need for vocational training and adaptation

These are necessary to cope with new techniques which change the economic structure and reduce opportunities for employing workers in their present occupation.

Participation of trade union organisations

This is particularly important for purposes of informing, preparing and adapting workers.

The attitude of the trade unions arises not only because workers' interests have to be defended in a practical manner, but also because a number of decisions have to be made, in particular:

Priority for human questions

For an increasing number of industrialists, technicians and politicians, economic organisation seems to have become the main consideration. While the trade unions believe economic organisation to be necessary, sometimes referring to programming or planning, they always add that such programmes or plans must be democratic, that is, primarily in the service of man. It is therefore not as economists but as trade unionists that we approach these questions of mobility of manpower. Trade unionists admit the need for manpower to be mobile but wish this mobility to be made use of only after movements of capital or equipment, or structural adjustments have been made or seriously considered.

TRADE UNION ACTION

Such action is extremely difficult to describe because it ranges from intervention by international organisations such as the E.C.S.C., to action taken at local level when internal agreements or plans for laying off employees are being discussed.

To take only French examples, trade unionists there have for some years had to face problems of manpower mobility, of which a few examples are:

- the coal mines;
- firms which have closed down or are doing so (shipyards in France);
- firms which have had to change the whole or part of their production;

- firms which have been decentralised, particularly the case of those in the Paris area establishing themselves in the provinces;
- new undertakings (steelworks at Dunkirk).

At the same time the exodus from the country to the towns has continued and the underdeveloped state of some areas has been accentuated, while daily movement has increased around or towards the industrial centres (see for example the problem of recruiting female textile workers in the mining areas in Northern France). Trade unionism has not been inactive in the face of these problems and, while it is not possible to describe all its activities, some examples at least may be given.

Occupational Mobility

(a) Spontaneous

Changing occupation or job is fairly common. According to an enquiry by Girard (1947), one-quarter of the French urban population has changed occupations at least once.

Mobility is especially high among young people and those up to 45 years of age, as is shown by an enquiry into employment(1). While it would be wrong to generalise, Mr. BYE notes, in connection with the E.C.S.C. enquiry into obstacles to the movement of workers and social problems of re-adaptation, that those who leave are not necessarily the young; thus, three-quarters of the miners emigrating from the South to Lorraine were married men from 25 to 39 years of age, with an average of 7.6 years seniority and an average family of 3.6 children.

(b) Imposed

This type of movement has several causes. The main one is the need to convert a number of industries or undertakings. Thus in French shipbuilding, a fairly large number of workers have had and still have to take up other trades, carpenters becoming welders for example.

Several difficulties have arisen:

- Understandable hesitation on the part of the worker to abandon his trade;
- Difficulty in re-entering apprenticeship, particularly after a certain age, and difficulty in adapting the hands to the requirements of high-speed or production line work;
- Loss of professional qualification or wages;

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(1) "Enquiry into Employment. Statistical Study No. 1", January/March 1963 (I.N.S.E.E.).

- Need for a minimum level of education to attend adult vocational training courses (several workers have been refused entry to these centres for lack of the necessary elementary education).

Trade unions have no particular need to intervene where voluntary movement is concerned, the workers merely availing themselves of their rights and freedom. Action by trade unions, however, to obtain better teaching and real vocational training which goes beyond the basic essentials, helps to encourage free movement and to make it a means of promotion for many workers.

As far as enforced movement is concerned, trade union action consists in intervening at various levels - Ministries, regional authorities and firms - to obtain guarantees for workers respecting their qualifications and wages.

Among the problems must be mentioned the difficulty that workers who are over 45 years of age or disabled find in changing jobs. The E.C.S.C. enquiry referred to the specific problems of retraining aged or disabled miners. In France, accelerated vocational training, retraining or further training are given only to those under 45. This has led the shipbuilding unions, in particular, to claim special measures for the older workers and particularly an earlier retirment age.

Daily and weekly movement

There has been a particularly large increase in this kind of movement: thus the enquiry carried out in 1960/61 by the National Committee for Reform of Working Hours and Leisure (C.N.A.T.) shows that out of 3,500,000 workers in the Paris area, some 2,300,000 are obliged to travel for more than one hour; 64 per cent of workers travel more than 6 km. each day and 8 per cent more than 40 km.

The enquiry into transport of workers in the Sambre Valley(1) shows that firms in that area only find on the average 41 per cent of their manpower on the spot. Each morning 4,000 workers, or 43.5 per cent of the labour force come into Jeumont from outside the valley. 2,000 of these workers cross the frontier.

This tendency has been increased in the provinces by the growing custom of collecting the employees of large undertakings by bus. 4,000 country dwellers hold weekly season tickets to go to work in Nancy (it should incidentally be noted that the waiting room at Nancy Station has space for only 30). The difficulties are often accentuated by shift working (two or three shifts) and fatigue due to the rate of work.

Speaking of this kind of movement, some socilogists(2) refer to

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(1) Document of Sambre Valley Improvement Committee.

(2) P.H. Chombart de Lauwe and J. Jenny, "Sociologie du travail".

"a third environment in daily life which is tending to absorb a large part of the workers' time". It may be that we do not sufficiently emphasize the serious repercussions that this has on the social and family life of workers and on the resulting lack of interest in civic responsibilities. Weekly movements are less important but their effect is also felt.

The trade unions have drawn attention and expressed their opposition to long journeys prolonging hours of work. In their reply to the E.C.S.C. enquiry, all the Belgian trade union organisations said they were opposed to excessively long journeys and required travelling expenses to be repaid to daily migrants.

- The Italian trade unions are opposed to long journeys, which are usually necessitated by lack of accommodation in towns and too great a concentration of the new industries.
- The Luxembourg Christian trade unions are asking for cheaper railway season tickets.
- The Paris area association of the C.F.T.C. trade unions began a campaign on this question in the spring of 1963.

In the Paris area 2,300,000 workers spend nearly 12 hours away from home each working day and the situation is likely to get still worse.

The trade unions as a whole are also pressing for a real housing policy, as lack of housing is one of the causes of long journeys to work, and for improved transport in the large cities.

Special mention must be made of the trade unions' campaign for reduced working hours and a 40-hour week of 5 days (the average working week in France is over 46 hours for manufacturing industry).

Action has also been taken at the level of firms and of regional and national employers' organisations to obtain travel allowances, while it is recognised that this is only a palliative and not a solution to the problem.

Migration

"If the operation is properly prepared, if the individuals concerned are properly informed in good time, if they find real compensation in their change of domicile, and particularly if the advantages of the operation are clearly seen not only by the technicians but by the personnel as a whole, if it is fairly evident that there is a collective gain to be made, it seems that all the obstacles, whatever they may be, can be surmounted. The fact of seeing the position clearly overcomes hesitation caused by fear of difficulties, and smoothes out the inevitable disturbances which arise later."

This was the view expressed in the French report following the High Authority's enquiry in 1954(1).

It is confirmed by what has been said by A. Girard(2).

"The electrification of the S.N.C.F. Paris-Lyon line alone affected 3,600 staff of the traction and equipment department, 27 per cent of whom had to change trades."

"The success of such changes is achieved through a whole set of measures the essentials of which, it must be emphasized, are the giving of advance warning and very full information to the staff, psychological preparation, and finally, individual treatment, the case of each employee being to some extent examined separately, although there may be a large number of changes."

R. Reynaud writes:

"Adaptation of workers, helped by redundancy pay, resettlement assistance, transport and vocational training, gives on the whole satisfactory results, the effectiveness of which is well shown by the number of new jobs that have been filled comparatively quickly."(3)

It may be noted that in Sweden, mobility is encouraged by the payment of travel and transfer grants:

- A leaving grant for workers taking up a new job in a district other than their home district;
- Installation allowances for workers leaving districts where unemployment is especially severe;
- Family allowances for unemployed workers who, leaving a district affected by unemployment, cannot find accommodation for their families in their new place of residence.

The special effort made in the matter of housing must also be mentioned.

The total of the various allowances may amount to from 2 to 4 months' wages. The person concerned may also have his new rent paid for him for several months.

In most cases, however, workers have had to leave their area without any information or preparation, because of reduced working hours, lay off or serious threats to the firms employing them. The majority of workers move not to obtain promotion but merely to live. There is a big exodus from certain departments:

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(1) E.C.S.C. document already quoted.

(2) "Orientation et Formation Professionnelle", A. Girard in "Sociologie du Travail".

(3) R. Reynaud: "National Policy of Regional Development and Conversion", (E.C.S.C., 1961).

A recent enquiry(1) shows that in the Vosges department of France one person in seven has changed domicile in five years and that two out of three people leaving were below 30 years of age. It is interesting to note that an enquiry made last year showed that almost all of the 220 young people who left a town in the Vosges to find work said that they would willingly return there if offered interesting work. The enquiry also shows that people do not always adapt themselves satisfactorily to different surroundings and that the social and human balance of areas be upset by too much emigration.

As the I.F.C.T.U. and I.C.F.T.U. stated during the E.C.S.C. enquiry, the claims and activities of the trade union organisations are directed to ensuring that in the first place industries move to the workers. The trade unions have reacted particularly strongly against the economic argument advanced by industrialists and economists that industries would be penalised if they settled in under eveloped areas; this, as is emphasized by S.H. Livine(2), is not the case:

"In general, firms have found that the inconvenience resulting from higher transport costs, distance from market outlets, vocational training problems separation from the management, etc., has in practice turned out to be less serious than was expected, while the advantages, particularly that of availability of labour, are greater.... .... On the whole it could not be said that, once a firm was established in a development area, its operations were less profitable than elsewhere."

Action is being taken both in the Committees of the Plan and the Economic Council, on which the trade unions are represented, at the regional level in the regional expansion committees, and locally by representations and, if necessary, demonstrations. The question of training and adaptation of manpower is also being taken up with the manpower and employment Committees, at both national and regional levels.

There are various kinds of obstacles to the mobility of manpower:

- Those resulting from the fact that a worker is attached to his district, has his house, family, friends and communal life there, has difficulty in finding accommodation elsewhere, and also lacks the basic culture and universal fundamental training which would enable him to adapt himself;

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(1) "Etudes et Documents", (Economic and Social Research Centre, 14, rue St. Benoit, Paris 6).

(2) S.H. Livine: "National Policies" - a British official report.

- Those arising from what P. Naville(1) calls "professionalisation", that is the worker's right to a precisely defined status, extending to the greatest possible number of workers and guaranteed in varying degrees by law, collective agreements and firm contracts.

The wage, the job description that many managements tend to make peculiar to their own firm, allowances, in particular for seniority, firms' welfare schemes, and a number of other special advantages, all tend to attach the worker to "his" firm, which guarantees him employment and the possibility of advancement in his job.

There are also obstacles of another kind, concerned with the place given to the trade unions, about which we should not delude ourselves as certain people willingly do. While trade unionism can make itself heard in certain organisations or committees, it does not necessarily follow that it really influences the decisions taken at the level of financial or industrial groups or that of State technicians.

Thus, concerning trade union participation in the Committees of the French Plan, we must remember that for the Third Plan there were 82 trade unionists, 25 of whom were agricultural unionists, among the 615 members of the 19 committees, compared with 206 heads of undertakings, 113 civil servants, etc.

DESIRABLE ACTION

Only controlled and harmonious growth of the economy can reconcile the maximum freedom of the individual with the requirements of the public interest. There should clearly be such controlled and harmonious growth at the national level, but it should also increasingly be found in the bigger regional units. This is the essential problem of regional economies, both national and international.

It is therefore not only desirable but necessary that an active, progressive joint European social policy be introduced, as the big international workers' organisations I.C.F.T.U. and I.F.C.T.U. are demanding.

> In 1959 the European regional organisation of free trade unions stated in a motion: "The free trade unions declare themselves in favour of mobility of manpower, which must however be achieved in a framework of carefully designed programmes and measures... Migrations cannot effectively replace a long-term policy of full employment and structural stability, either for individual countries or for Europe as a whole".
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> In 1962 the I.F.C.T.U. proposed at its European Conference in Rome: "Overall planning of the economic development of the Community

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(1) P. Naville: "L'emploi, le métier, la profession", in "Sociologie du Travail".

by the setting up of a European planning office ... the institution of a European employment policy, the application of common principles of vocational training, and the establishment of freedom of movement of workers under the best possible conditions ... harmonisation of the advance in real wages and welfare benefits..."

Harmonisation of working hours, wages and conditions of work, a joint policy for vocational training: these are the main aims of the trade unions both in the E.E.C. and the O.E.C.D.; they could be given effect in joint European conventions.

Special provision should also be made for the benefit of certain categories such as the disabled.

In Sweden(1) much work has been done after consultation with employers' and workers' organisations with the object of finding out what work suits a disabled person, taking his previous occupation into account. This scheme operates through the employment service, special courses organised on a large scale, sheltered workshops and special jobs, and work to be done at home.

In Great Britain protected work is organised on a fairly large scale through "REMPLOY", an organisation set up in 1945 which has given employment to nearly 13,000 men and women, the majority of whom would no doubt have had little chance of finding it. Four thousand blind people are working in 70 independent workshops controlled by "REMPLOY", and 6,000 disabled people, 500 of whom are women, are employed in 90 factories.

Should we perhaps have touched also on the problem of refugees and their absorption into the life of the country in which they have settled?

Democratic reform of teaching :

The prior condition of all employment, and in consequence of a healthy mobility of manpower, will increasingly be the right to training. F. Lantier(2) notes that the present trend in technical development is for vocational training to be less specialised, specialisation being regarded as the establishment of a close functional relationship between a man and a machine or type of machine with the object of producing a certain article or type of articles. If unskilled or semi-skilled workers are already the most affected when there is a crisis of unemployment or reduced activity, how much more will this be the case tomorrow?

At the conclusion of his article Mr. Lantier emphasized that movements of workers between the main sectors of economic activity are now hindered by the technical complexity of the various sectors: we can accordingly not count either on industry or on the tertiary sector to absorb a surplus of unskilled manpower. In the same way movement will become more and more difficult at the semi-skilled level, even within a single sector. Only an overall long-term policy can resolve this problem.

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(1) "Labour Market Policy in Sweden" O.E.C.D. Reviews of Manpower and Social Policies, Paris, 1963.

(2) "Bulletin du Centre d'études et de recherches Psychotechniques" No. 1, 1963.

A sound basic culture, basic technical training, more facilities for training and retraining workers - these are the essentials from both the human and the economic points of view. What divides men most is no longer money but education, said J. Monnet. What handicaps workers severely is lack of training.

There are obstacles to be overcome, among them the complicity(1) between some employers and technocratic circles and many teachers. The former wish to limit mass education to up-to-date vocational training, while the latter want to take care of a selected few children marked out for a highly cultural and detached education. Both sides find it easy to agree that the whole problem can be reduced to one of providing technical education for the majority of children and confining secondary education in the hamanities to a small elite.

This tendency is a condition of growing and beneficial social mobility.

A. Vermeulen(2) showed at the International Committee for Scientific Management Conference in Berlin how important it was for the future of the Community that there should be as much freedom of movement as possible, in the interests not only of the individual but of the Community as a whole, and that the aim should be administrative, economic and social mobility of manpower. He also made it clear that this assumed equal opportunities for education and co-ordination between the various scholastic levels. It is thus understandable that the trade union organisations, in France particularly the C.F.T.C. and the S.G.E.N. (Syndicat Général de l'Education National affiliated to the C.F.T.C.), place so much emphasis on a democratic reform of education.

Absolute necessity for democratic planning

Throughout the studies made on employment questions(3) it is evident that there is no valid solution other than an overall policy carried out by all those concerned with the problem. Some mobility of manpower, both vocational and geographical, is an inevitable consequence of technical progress and is also necessary to economic growth.

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(1) J. Natanson and A. Prost in "Révolution Scolaire" (Editions Ouvrières).

(2) A. Vermeulen lecture at I.C.S.M. Conference in Berlin 2nd October, 1958, in E.P.A. Trade Union Information No. 22, January-February, 1959, (E.P.A., Paris).

(3) E.C.S.C. regional employment studies. Population and internal migration in Lorraine - regional conference of 8th November, 1961, organised by the Regional Committee of the Lorraine Basin. Studies by the Committee for the Development of the Sambre Valley. "The Northern Region" by R. Gendarme, etc.

For trade unions representing unskilled workers, however, it is only defensible or possible if it respects and develops human values; otherwise, as we said at the beginning of this report, it leads to the reverse of true development.

It is only worth while or possible if such problems as housing, education, transport and collective equipment, vocational training and adaptation, public health and social education centres, are studied and resolved. Only democratic planning can meet the economic requirements of the development of industrial society and the spiritual needs of a democratic society.

CONCLUSIONS

Mobility of manpower may lead to human advancement and economic development, on the conditions that we have mentioned above. Unless these conditions are met there is a risk that a number of workers will feel they are "displaced" or "refugees", which is bound to have serious consequences from the social point of view.

To solve the problem of mobility of manpower harmoniously, imagination must be shown at all levels and an overall policy of development must be prepared and applied. A policy of co-operation must be introduced at all levels as there is no one who is not directly affected by this problem; the trade union organisations must play a full part in it.

Then, development and prosperity will really serve to safeguard individual liberties and increase general welfare.

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